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A History of the Christian Day School Rationale

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A HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN DAY SCHOOL RATIONALE

by

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OUTLINE

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INTRODUCTION

Reasons for the Study

No one can claim to be perceptive of the current religious and educational trends in this nation without noticing the phenomenal growth of Protestant day schools. Some have claimed that as many as four new schools are being built each day, but more reasonable estimates of two per day are still staggering. As two education experts wrote, "The most rapidly growing segment of American elementary and secondary education is that of private Fundamentalist schools."[1]

While the overall enrollment in nonpublic schools declined 28% between 1965 and 1975, enrollment in fundamentalist and evangelical schools increased 118%. Also, the Association of Christian Schools International, the largest association of Christian day schools, reported 1,294 member schools in 1980 and 2,273 member schools in 1985. The enrollment in those schools has also risen drastically from 220,001 to 390,285 in the same five years.[2] Overall, reliable estimates say that well over one million children are students in approximately ten thousand fundamentalist and evangelical schools.[3] The sheer magnitude of the Christian school movement is sufficient justification for a study of significant size.

Still other factors make it incumbent upon the reader to understand and evaluate the Christian school movement. First, the prospects of tax monies being used indirectly to support these Christian day schools is something worthy of considerable attention and debate.[4] In particular, the recent push by the Reagan administration to secure tuition tax

credits and vouchers for private school parents should force every American taxpayer to make some judgment regarding the use of tax money for private education.

Second, the Christian school movement may cast grave doubts over the future of public school education. Many Christian school advocates believe Christian schools should ultimately overtake public schools as the primary educators of elementary and secondary schoolchildren. If this is one of their goals, and if Christian schools continue to grow, then financial support for public schools, which educate the vast majority of America's poor children, might dwindle to severely inadequate levels.

A third reason for studying the Christian school movement is that many fundamentalists and evangelicals believe the survival of fundamental Christianity depends on the proliferation of Christian schools. Jerry Falwell, leader of the Moral Majority and the Liberty Federation, has been particularly vocal on this point. According to him, Christian schools are necessary to provide leadership for sustaining the recent "resurgence of conservative Christianity" in societal life.[5] He plans to establish five thousand new schools with a thousand students in each by the end of this century. It is in those five million students that Falwell places his future hopes for bringing this nation "back to God."[6]

Indeed, the Christian school movement is no small, ineffectual phenomenon. It deserves a careful interpretation of its rationale.

The Study's Focus and Thesis

Although the Christian school movement can be studied from many different perspectives, this paper will focus on the relationship of it

to conservative Christian attitudes toward culture. These questions will be considered: How is the Christian school rationale related to historical attitudes toward culture? How does the Christian school community interpret its role in society? And, how has this interpretation evolved since the first Christian day schools in the 1940's?

Fortunately, H. Richard Niebuhr has clarified the "cultural problem" in his perennial classic, Christ and Culture. Here he distinguished among five of Christianity's most typical approaches to culture, providing examples from all periods in Church history to illustrate the positions. Using his categories to interpret the Christian school rationale, this study intends to show a pattern throughout American history that can shed new light on the current rise in religious schooling among fundamentalists and evangelicals.

In a sentence, this paper's thesis is the following: The modern Christian school movement is grounded in an intelligible defense which shall be called the conversionist school rationale.

This defense holds three suppositions to be true. First, because God is universally sovereign over culture, no aspect of education for the Christian can be entirely secular. Second, because public schools educate from a secular point of view, Christian parents must send their children to Christian schools where God's sovereignty is duly recognized and the false secular/sacred dichotomy is negated. Third, Christian schools are a viable strategy for actualizing God's sovereignty over American culture.

Two important implications follow from this paper's thesis. First, the thesis challenges the Christian community's common conception that all fundamentalist and evangelical day schools are rooted in a desire to

separate from society at large. In reality, a separatist rationale (whether religiously or racially motivated) does not completely account for the Christian school movement. According to many leaders of the Christian school movement, their schools are at most a limited separation, what one might call a strategic or tactical separation, from public schools. Many of these conservative Christians are not withdrawing from a society deemed unworthy of their concern; instead, they are using their schools as primary institutions for the conversion of society. In other words, the Christian school movement represents an awakening, or re-awakening, of what some fundamentalists and evangelicals consider to be their mandate for cultural engagement. This rationale has been largely ignored in the past; yet, it is at least part of what Christians must seriously examine in order to respond, positively or negatively, to the Christian school movement. Otherwise, Christians risk neglecting what the movement says of itself.

The second implication of the thesis is concerned with its relation to historical attitudes of Protestants toward culture. If Christian schools do have a conversionist rationale, then they may be considered to be part of a broader national phenomenon, namely, the recent revival of conservative Christianity's involvement in culture and politics. This is of great historical significance because it constitutes a reversal of a long-standing trend in American religious history. In short, over the past three centuries, orthodox Christians since the Puritans have gradually disengaged from cultural pursuits. But various indications show that the work of men like Jerry Falwell is at the cutting edge of conservative Christian re-engagement with the media and the political process. Indeed, only within the context of this historical

trend and reversal can the Christian school movement be accurately interpreted.

This latter implication of the thesis is what complicates and broadens the scope of this paper, for it requires that the study begin with the Puritans in the 1630's rather than the first Christian day schools in the 1940's. Of course, this study makes no pretense of being an exhaustive survey of Christian school rhetoric, but it does examine a heretofore neglected facet of the Christian school movement--that of the movement's attitudes toward culture--in light of the history of Protestant approaches to culture. In this way the paper hopes to contribute to an overall understanding of Christian day schools. As such, it is neither a refutation of nor an apologetic for the movement; but it is an exposition of a significant part of the Christian school rationale within its historical context.

Definitions

Before continuing, a number of key words and phrases must be identified. Probably the most difficult words to define are those in the area of the two constituent groups of the Christian school movement: "fundamentalists" and "evangelicals." Unfortunately, space does not permit a thorough look at their definitions. In this case, Appendix I will assist the reader's understanding of the movement's constituency, but just a brief word about "fundamentalist" and "evangelical" should be noted.

This study adopts the definitions given by Richard Quebedeaux in his books, The Young Evangelicals and The Worldly Evangelicals.[7] He divides fundamenalists and evangelicals into four groups, all of which can be

called "orthodox." Orthodoxy is distinguished from Liberalism primarily by its belief in the Bible as the authoritative guide for Christian faith and practice.

Ranging from the most conservative on theological and social issues, the four ideological subgroups of orthodox Protestantism are: Separatist Fundamentalism, Open Fundamentalism, Establishment Evangelicalism, and New Evangelicalism. In this paper, establishment evangelicalism and new evangelicalism will sometimes be referred to as "right-wing evangelicalism" and "left-wing evangelicalism." Regarding the Christian day schools, no evidence suggests that the evangelical left is involved in the movement. The three other groups appear to be active in building day schools, with the schools of the open fundamentalists and the right-wing evangelicals growing most rapidly.

Because the Christian day school movement comprises both fundamentalists and evangelicals, the use of either term, fundamentalist or evangelical, would appear to exclude the other. Generally, this paper will refer to these groups as "fundamentalistic."[8] The term will be reserved for the collectivity of right-wing evangelicals and both fundamentalist subgroups.

With this understanding of the constituents of the movement, a number of other definitions are in order before proceeding to the history of the Christian day school rationale. This paper will use the phrase "Christian day school" or "Christian school" to refer to private, fundamentalistic elementary and secondary schools. This should distinguish them from the weekly Sunday school, public schools, and non-religious private schools. As a whole, the Christian day schools to which this paper refers are instigated and promoted by individuals apart

from any general policy of the denomination of which they are a part. Therefore, the more centrally organized school efforts of the Christian Reformed Church, the Lutherans, the Seventh Day Adventists and the Roman Catholics are excluded from this definition.

The phrase "Christian school community" will refer to the children, parents, teachers and organizations that support Christian day school education. The "Christian school rationale" in its broadest sense is the Christian school's reason for existence--its self-justification. It is often spoken of in terms of the school's distinctive "philosophy of education." In its more restrictive sense, "Christian school rationale" may refer to a Christian school's approach to culture.

As already mentioned, this paper utilizes Niebuhr's analysis of the different Christian approaches to culture as its framework of interpretative categories for the Christian school rationale. In his book, Christ and Culture, Niebuhr described five possible theories on the relationship of Christianity to culture: separation, acculturation, synthesis, dualism, and conversion. Of these five, separation, dualism, and conversion are most important to this study, with acculturation of secondary concern. For a more careful description of Niebuhr's essential terms, the reader is advised to see Appendix II.

Niebuhr's terms for the typical approaches to culture are essentially self-explanatory. A separatist, of course, is one who separates from culture, usually in an effort to live untainted from worldly vices. In contrast, dualists realize that culture is inescapable, but they leave culture in a theoretically distinct realm of life so that the sacred and secular are in an unresolvable tension, or dualism. Conversionists advocate Christian involvement in the transformation of culture in an effort to realize God's equal sovereignty over both secular

culture and the sacred Church. In fact, conversionists strongly reject the notion of a secular/sacred dichotomy, and they strive to glorify God in their cultural pursuits. The last relevant approach to culture is what I have called civil religion (or religious patriotism), though it is in some ways similar to the acculturation approach. Like the dualists, it stresses the private, personal relevance of most religious convictions, but at the same time, it argues with the conversionists that certain elements of religious orientation have a public dimension in American institutions.

These various approaches to culture can be represented on a continuum that roughly corresponds to the degree of a person or group's engagement in culture. The conversionists would tend to be most involved in societal life, whereas the separatists would be most disengaged from culture. In between the two poles, the culturalists/civil religionists would be more culturally engaged than the dualists.

Chapter 1

CHRISTIAN DAY SCHOOLS FROM 1620 TO 1940: THE PENDULUM EFFECT

This paper employs the analogy of a pendulum to show the direction of trends in Protestant approaches to culture in America. The analogy may be more comprehensible if the reader will refer periodically to the continuum from separation to conversion in the illustrations at the end of this paper.

Briefly, the first major section of the paper describes the one-directional swing of the pendulum from the Puritan's conversionist attempts to the fundamentalist separation in the 1930's. I will argue that the establishment and secularization of the public schools was related to evangelicalism's gradual disengagement from culture. Also, this first section examines a nineteenth century conversionist school movement in order to show that American history does contain a precedent for the current conversionist school rationale and that the current movement borrowed from the precedent.

In the second major section, the paper demonstrates that the rationale for Christian schools has a split source--conversion and separation. Furthermore, the dominant rationale since the 1940's has fluctuated from conversion to separation to conversion again. Finally, the growing prevalence of conversionist attitudes in Christian schools is related to the recent increase of cultural engagement on the part of fundamentalistic Christians, Jerry Falwell being the most noteworthy example.

At several points this discussion considers the thought of Christian school leaders on their own history and how this thought is strongly con-

versionist. In fact, it is with the thought of the Christian school community that the discussion begins.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The Beginnings of Christian Education (1620-1720)

At times, the leaders of the Christian school movement appear to be in disagreement regarding the historical foundations of Christian schools. The problem actually is a difference in emphasis with some stressing the Hebraic foundations and others the Puritan foundations. In both cases the schools find their roots in Christian engagement in culture rather than separation from it.

The Israelites and the Puritans. Most Christian school leaders who search for the beginnings of "Christian education" focus on Puritan schooling in America in the seventeenth century. This view Ballweg considers to be incorrect. This Christian educator rejects the view because in his mind Christian education is not just another way of referring to the principles and methods associated with Puritanism. Nor is it, as some outside the movement have claimed, associated simply with Roman Catholic parochialism or nineteenth century fundamentalism.[1]

Ballweg says the sources of Christian education reach to the Old Testament,[2] from a cultural mandate given in Genesis 1:27-28 to exercise dominion over the earth. From this cultural mandate, Christian school educators believe that "education can be neither dualistic nor neutral."[3] Ballweg seems to use "dualistic" as defined in this study--a dichotomized view of reality into sacred and secular spheres. For Ballweg, the Christian school movement is not a product of American culture, but of the "reemergence of a spiritual awakening, which, for over a century has lain

dormant in the thinking of the Christian community."[4] As one can plainly see, Ballweg uses his historical interpretation to show that the Christian schools are founded in a theory of cultural engagement, a theory that is aptly described as conversionist.

Though few leaders in the Christian school movement would openly disagree with Ballweg's historical interpretation, most do focus their historical gaze on the Puritan schools of the colonial period. They do this in response to the often-heard criticism that their schools are un-American because they abandon America's public schools. Paul Kienel, Executive Director of the Association of Christian Schools International, has been particularly vocal in responding to this point. He refers to today's school movement as a "re-establishment" of Christian schools, a "rebirth" of that which is fundamental in American religious and educational history. Christian schools have their mainstream American precedent, the early colonial schools. They were the first schools in the New World and they were private and Christian. Kienel writes:

> Bible-centered, Protestant Christian schools existed in America 217 years before public schools were established. From the landing of the Pilgrims in 1620 to state-controlled public schools were established by Horace Mann in 1837, America's schools were Christ-centered and committed to a high level of literacy.[5]

The Puritans As Conversionists. The Christian school community's fondness of these Puritan schools appears to be an example of their conversionist tendencies. Some might object at this point that the Puritans were separatists, not conversionists. After all, they did separate from the Anglican Church and come to America to establish their own commonwealth. A response to this argument must begin by understanding how the Puritans are related to European efforts at constructive Protestantism.

H. Richard Niebuhr has argued that in Europe during the Reformation,

three main types of constructive Protestantism were endeavoring to build the kingdom of God. Those types were separatism, Lutheranism and Calvinism. Although separatism articulated a belief in God's absolute sovereignty, it tended to believe that God had abandoned church and state, having dedicated them to destruction. Separatism "declined to compromise its loyalty to the kingdom of God by participating in any way in the kingdoms of men."[6] Its main concern was to keep the community of the faithful pure.

On the other hand, the Lutherans were dualistic. As Niebuhr said, Luther. . .

> tended to regard all "outward" things with a monastic or pietistic indifference. At all events, his efforts at construction were almost entirely directed toward the goal of giving God the sovereignty over the spiritual life.[7]

In Luther's mind, "only God can rule the spirit of man and only the spirit is really important."[8] Thus the Lutherans tended to avoid the mixing of religion and politics, saying it tended to distort and pervert both religion and politics.

In contrast, Calvinism "claims the State in a much more emphatic way than does Lutheranism."[9] This is because of Calvin's doctrine of universalism, which asserts that no sphere of life is exempt from the sovereignty of God. As Niebuhr wrote, "More than Luther, Calvin looks for the present permeation of all life by the gospel."[10] Not economics, nor politics, nor church, nor the physical life is solely of temporal significance. They are all sacred when used for God's glory. For Calvin, a sharp secular/sacred distinction is heresy, and while that distinction led Lutheranism to tolerate the world, Calvin's view of a united reality led him to send his followers out to master the world. According to Calvin's

ideas, "Men are to master the world, dominate it, bend it indeed to their supreme religious aim."[11] Consistent with his beliefs, Calvin's schools in Geneva united the religious and cultural elements of its curriculum in such a way as to negate the dualistic world view.[12]

When the New England settlers are considered in relation to the English Puritans as a whole, they were, largely, the separatists of that group. However, their voyage to America was inspired by the ideals of the Puritans in general,[13] and once they reached the New World, they no longer wrestled against a culture dominated by the Roman Church or the Stuart monarchy. In such an atmosphere, the Puritans, who were "distinctly Calvinistic in their theology and general outlook," took on the more positive task of converting the New World.[14] The spirit of the early colonists can be characterized by Francis Higinson's much quoted statement, "We do not go to New England as separatists from the Church of England; though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it; but we go to practice the positive part of church reformation, and propagate the gospel in America."[15]

Martin E. Marty wrote that when the Puritans came to America, "they had little talk of a protected church that had no bearing on the public order."[16] The end result of Puritanism's efforts was a legacy of conversion that dominated most Protestant thought in America until the end of the nineteenth century.

The School Movement's Identification with the Puritans. It is with this more positive, conversionist spirit of the Puritans that the leaders of the Christian school movement hope to identify themselves. It is no secret that fundamentalistic Christians highly revere the ideals of the Puritan forefathers. What few know is that they also respect the Puri-

tan's conversionist approach to education. For example, in a recent sermon Jerry Falwell emphasized the role of the church in Puritan education, saying the church building served as their school, "where they taught and trained their sons and daughters."[17]

Paul Kienel of the Association of Christian Schools International also reflects an admiration of the conversionist character of the early Puritans. He says their schools were organized to accelerate the proliferation of the Protestant Reformation through the transformation of Church and society.[18]

James Veltkamp respects the New England Puritans because they carried Calvin's principles to education. He specifically mentions the attitude that all education of religious significance, an attitude based on Calvin's doctrine of God's universal sovereignty.[19]

John W. Whitehead, a lawyer involved in a number of the Christian schools' legal battles, emphasizes Veltkamp's same point. In 1647 the Massachusetts General Court passed the "Old Deluder Satan Act" requiring towns to maintain schools. Whitehead quotes from part of it, which said:

> It being one chief point of the old deluder, Satan, to keep men from knowledge of the Scriptures . . . it is therefore ordered that every township . . . appoint one within their town to teach all children as shall resort to him to write and read. Forasmuch as it greatly concerns the welfare of this country, that youth thereof be educated, not only in good literature, but in sound doctrine.[20]

Whitehead interprets this to mean that all good education is inevitably religious. He also stresses that, in keeping with Calvin's teachings, the Puritans "kept the emphasis on the family as the primary educator of the child."[21]

Frank e. Gaebelein, perhaps the most important of the early theorists for evangelical schools, began one of his books by saying that, in con-

trast to America's current secular society, the Puritan settlers of New England established a government and schools that were thoroughly religious. This can be seen in the original "Rules and Precepts for Harvard College" written in 1643 and quoted by Gaebelein, "Let every student be plainly instructed and earnestly pressed . . . to lay Christ in the bottom as the only foundation of all sound knowledge and learning."[22] Gaebelein also wrote:

> It requires only a brief glimpse into the beginnings of America to remind us that the colonial pioneers and founders of our nation were convinced of the importance of religion in education. For them religion was a major concern and education a means of guarding and promoting it. It has been rightly said that the early schools of America were children of the Church. Evidence of the strong religious factor in early American education abounds in early school charters and school laws, and even in constitutional enactments that give religious reasons for educational provisions.[23]

Finally, Samuel Blumenfeld speaks approvingly of the religious influences in the early schools. However, his desire to remove control of mass education from the State appears inconsistent with his positive attitudes toward Puritan education because the governments of New England did exercise some control of education. This inconsistency he resolves in two ways. First, like Whitehead, he emphasizes the important role the family played in Puritan education. Second, he notes religion's influences on the Massachusetts government, saying, "The church members ran the legislature."[24] They enacted school laws for religious reasons, not secular ones. They did not usurp the place of the home and church in education, as Blumenfeld believes the State does today.

So, America's religious history begins with a conversionist approach to education and culture. Since today's Christian school community strongly admires the Puritan's Calvinist approach to education, their leaders are showing evidence of their own conversionist temperament.

Thus far the paper has focused on the Christian school community's

interpretation of their historical roots. At this point, however, the focus must turn away from the rhetoric of the Christian school leaders, and, for a brief time, from education in particular. This is done to show the relationship between the pietistic influences of the Great Awakenings and the establishment of public schools.

The Impact of the Great Awakenings on Views of Culture (1720-1830)

The biblical commonwealth of the Puritans did not survive for long. Many factors contributed to its weakening, such as the rapid growth of the colonies and the emergence of religious liberalism in the Unitarian movement. In Europe, where rationalism and the religious wars had removed much of the Reformation's original zeal, the state of spiritual decadence was much the same as in the colonies. Then, as the eighteenth century advanced, revivals brought converts to churches in swarms and the Calvinist traditions found new life. This new life came, however, at the cost of certain modifications of Calvinism. Essentially, the Awakenings initiated a trend among revivalists to view culture dualistically. That is not to say that they forsook their task of transforming the world; in fact, the revivals brought them to that task in such a way that most churchgoers would adopt a moderately conversionist approach to culture until the end of the nineteenth century.[25] However, the dualistic motif is definitely present in the First and Second Awakenings. How this is related to the establishment and secularization of the public schools will be described later. First, the paper must show how the Great Awakenings influenced the prevailing views of culture from 1720 to 1830.

The Dualistic Tendencies of the First Awakening (1720-1760). The Wesleyan revival in England, the Pietist movement in Germany and the Great

Awakening in the New World all had an underlying unity, "All were concerned with a reformation of personal religion rather than revision of doctrine."[26] The emphasis in preaching shifted from the head to the heart and from the organic society to the private individual. Itinerant evangelicals tended to see God at work only with the sphere of religious experience.[27]

Chronologically, this widespread spiritual renewal began in Germany, where Pietists such as Philipp Spener and August Franke were working within the Lutheran Church. They believed the Church had become stale with a cold orthodoxy, and they hoped to revive Luther's concern for the personal, spiritual aspects of the Christian walk. Such an emphasis returned them to Luther's dualism, which was described earlier. Pietism's influence can be traced to England in John Wesley's ministry and to the American revivals, especially in the ministries of Theodore Frelinghuysen, Gilbert Tennent and Jonathan Edwards.[28]

Niebuhr noted the tendencies toward dualism within the Great Awakening when he wrote that the revivals. . .

> resulted in a new tendency toward the withdrawal of the Christian community from entangling alliance with the world and particularly with politics. The movement toward separation of church and state was supported as actively by most of those who had come under the influence of the revival as it was by Jeffersonian democrats.[29]

Of course by separating church and state, Christians did not intend to withdraw fully from the state.

Most Christians passively adopted the principles of church and state set forth by Isaac Backus (1724-1806). His interpretation differed greatly from that of Thomas Jefferson. McLoughlin wrote:

> Jefferson looked forward to the creation of a secular state based upon the rationalistic religion of the French Enlightenment. Backus looked forward to the creation of a Christian society based upon the evangelical view of man's relationship to God and his laws.[30]

Although Backus fought for the separation of church and state, he still sought to build a "Christian society." In other words, he never intended for the state to be a completely secular institution; he believed that the state should be cognizant of its accountability as an institution created by God where its power is known to be ordained of God. While he desired separation of church and state for the sake of doctrinal freedom, he did not desire the end of church influence in the state.

Jefferson's position was more secularistic and more consistent than Backus' position. Jefferson spoke of a "high wall of separation between church and state" wherein the state was of no specific religion, thus allowing citizens the utmost freedom in the practice of their faith. In the current century, America's courts and many Christians have taken Jefferson's position on the separation of church and state. Yet, it was Backus' interpretation of church/state separation that dominated the courts throughout the nineteenth century.[31]

By way of contrast and perspective, Roger Williams was more dualistic than Backus.[32] Williams believed that government may in some ways reflect religious concerns in subordination to God, but human society is not a sacral institution. Yet, the differences between Williams and Backus should not be exaggerated. Recent interpreters have made Williams to be a Jeffersonian or twentieth century libertarian, but he was not that secularistic.[33] At any rate, it was Backus who represented the formative approach to government for most evangelical Christians, and it is his interpretation of church/state separation that many fundamentalistic Christians are striving to bring back into vogue in the 1980's.[34]

So, as Niebuhr pointed out, the move toward increased separation of church and state can be interpreted as a move toward dualism. This move

would seem only natural when one considers again the primary thrust of the Great Awakening--that religious conviction is primarily a matter of the conversion of the heart and only secondarily concerned with politics and the public order. This point may be clarified by examining the First Awakening geographically.

In the middle colonies, where Frelinghuysen started the revivals in the 1720's, Presbyterian leaders like Gilbert Tennent were communicating anti-intellectual sentiments that were characteristic of pietism's concern for matters of the heart. In the southern colonies, where the conversionist Calvinists were fewest in number, the Baptist evangelicals expressed their pietistic tendencies. They calmed local magistrates by denying that their revivals would alter the political order. "We concern not ourselves with the government, we form no intrigues . . . nor make any attempts to alter the constitution of the kingdom to which we as men do belong."[35] They contended, rather, for spiritual regeneration, and such an experience required only a liberty of the heart, not a freedom granted by a man-made government. True conversionists would never have been so unconcerned about the political order.

In New England, the Great Awakening ultimately left the Puritan tradition of conversion intact. However, this was not due directly to the revival's primary proponent, Jonathan Edwards. Had it been left to him, the Christian's impact on society would have been primarily related to soul-winning evangelism rather than to any direct impact on the structure of society. Edwards "seems scarcely to have been aware of the political problem."[36] While his postmillenialism tends to classify him as a conversionist, his mystical and "quietistic" social ethics prevented him from being a thoroughgoing conversionist.

It was Samuel Hopkins, Edwards' prestigious pupil, who modified Edwards' doctrine to bring it more into line with the Puritan/New England tradition of conversion. Hopkins redirected the Awakening's impact toward a new social ethic of humanitarian reform. "Hopkins made the new Evangelical Calvinism more than a closet piety or soul-winning. He moved it into the world of social reform."[37]

Summarily, the end result of the First Awakening was the weakening and modification of the Puritan orthodoxy. This in turn resulted in an increase in religious tolerance and in the tendency of Protestants to view culture dualistically.[38] The First Awakening had little effect on the educational structure of the colonies. If anything, its anti-intellectual tendencies hindered educational efforts. In any case, its effect on education can be seen only as indirect, in that it prepared the way for the Sunday School movement and for state control of primary education--both a product of the period of the Second Awakening. To this period the discussion now turns.

The Civil Religion of the Second Awakening (1800-1830). The Second Awakening occurred during a very formative period in the nation's history. During that time, the amalgation of states and territories was searching for a national unity to bring together the growing frontier, the southern and middle states and New England. This unity was constructed partially as an outcome of the Second Awakening.[39] By wedding the evangelical faith to Romantic nationalism, the Second Awakening popularized the belief that America had a Manifest Destiny as God's Chosen Nation to be a "lighthouse" to the rest of the world.[40]

The best-known spokesman for the revival in New England was Lyman Beecher. One can see from his writings that he was in most respects a

descendant of the Puritans and Samuel Hopkins. He and other New Englanders had no qualms about turning to government to legislate Christian faith and practice. In line with the Puritan's conversionist tradition, they organized themselves to fight for temperance laws, sabbatarian laws and the abolition of slavery. Again, though they were on the conversionist side of the continuum, they were not the complete conversionists the Puritans had been.[41]

The settlers of the Midwest were less diligent than the New Englanders in holding fast to their Calvinist moorings. Charles Finney "frankly repudiated" Calvinism, and, along with it, he appears to have repudiated Calvin's approach to culture. Finney's revival was truly in the pietistic tradition, for he was concerned with "higher things" of eternal and spiritual truth. Unlike his more conversionist counterparts in New England, Finney did not support laws to restrain men or prohibit them from bad actions."[42] Men, he said, must be reformed from within. The sin of drinking was best cured by personal salvation, not temperance laws. Slavery was a spiritual sin also eradicated best by personal conversion. So unlike the conversionists of the Northeast, Finney did not support legal, "non-spiritual" approaches to changing society.

By completely disdaining social activism, the camp meetings and revivals in the southern states exemplified an even stronger dualism than was evident in the Midwest. Indeed, the Awakening in the South was very different from New England in its approach to culture. This was due in part to the South's rejection of the particulars of Calvinism. An overwhelming majority of the Christians there were Baptists and Methodists; they had been least influenced by the Puritan and Reformed traditions of Christian activity in the public order. For the Southerners, the only kind of

social reform was personal moral reform. "Beyond personal behavior lay politics, and, according to the southern definition of the separation of church and state, the church was not to concern itself with politics."[43]

The slavery issue strongly reflected the South's dualism. Again, Southerners did not believe that religion speaks directly to the reformation of society as a whole. Interfering with state sovereignty was to them un-Christian because it "created political tests for spiritual organizations."[44] In reality they did not want abolition to rearrange the social order, so they relied on the dualistic traditions of the revivals to defend their lack of political activity against slavery.

In summary, the Second Awakening continued the trend that was started in the First Awakening, thus moving conservative Christians further away from their conversionist heritage passed down by the Puritans. The South and Midwest were more openly dualistic, concerning themselves almost exclusively with strictly "spiritual matters." New England adopted more of a civil religion that manifested itself in the religious nationalism of the nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries. To be sure, this civil religion was not altogether limited to New England, but it was born and prospered among those who believed they carried the Puritan vision for the New World.

The Relation of Protestantism's Interpretation of Culture to the Common School Movement (1830-1900)

The period roughly from 1776 to 1860 was the most creative age of American culture. The aspect of its creativity most relevant to this study is the common school movement, spawned in large part by the Romantic and national ideals found in the Second Awakening. The drive for public education began in Massachusetts in the 1830's, principally organ-

ized and promoted by Horace Mann. Along with others in New England, Mann became increasingly aware of the need for a universal educational system under state control.[45] Needless to say, he and those that followed him were quite successful. However, the success of Mann and his colleagues poses several serious questions regarding the relation of Protestant churches to these early public schools. Did most American Protestants support the common schools? If so, then why; how could they defend their abandonment of the centuries-old tradition of church control of education?

The answer to the first question is yes; most American Protestants eventually did give their full support to the common schools. Some did protest this historic move by the State, but by the end of the nineteenth century only a handful of Protestants maintained their own schools.

Much more difficult to answer is the second question: Why would American Protestants abandon the tradition of church-controlled education? Francis Curran, a Jesuit priest who has wrestled with this question, believes the answer lies in the anti-Catholicism of the American Protestants. When the Catholic immigrants flooded to the United States in the nineteenth century, many of them established parochial schools to preserve their religious and cultural heritage. The Protestants saw in this a threat to their democratic ideals, and they adopted the public schools as their very own rather than each denomination establishing its own school system.[46]

Other factors leading the Protestants to support the public schools include the weakness of an educational tradition among such groups as the Baptists and Methodists. Also influential was the lack of centralized organization on the part of church groups that stressed the autonomy of the local church.

Denominational Reactions to the Common Schools. One factor appears to have been neglected by Curran, though evidence for this neglected factor can be found in Curran's writings. I suggest that the American Protestants' support of the common schools was related to their approach to culture. Their educational strategy therefore reflected the dualist and civil religionist tendencies of the Awakenings. According to this study's interpretation, the dualists, or pietistic groups, were least likely to oppose the common schools. On the other hand, those establishing their own schools were either the separatists or the more purely Calvinistic groups approaching culture with the conversionist view.

Some groups cannot be placed on this continuum from conversion to separation. For example, the Episcopalians were synthesists according to Niebuhr's scheme,[47] and their initial attempts to maintain a separate school system can be seen as related to their approach to culture. However, it is safe to say that no other American Protestants adopted the synthesist position; so it is of no further concern to this paper.

Elements of separatism were prevalent in two groups that established their own schools--the Quakers and the Lutherans. The Lutherans desired to maintain schools that preserved their German language and heritage. Also, European Lutherans had a strong tradition of church-controlled primary education. One should note, however, that the Lutheran schools in theory were somewhat conversionist. According to Jon Diefenthaler, the leaders of the early Lutheran schools did not reject culture altogether. They considered all "useful arts" and "knowledge" as gifts from God that should be committed to Him and used for His glorification.[48]

No clearer case can be found than that of the Baptists, the most dualistic of the church groups examined by Curran. According to his research,

not once in the nineteenth century did Baptists question the right of the State to control popular education. The Baptists and the Methodists both believed that attempts at church control of popular education were un-American.[49]

On the other hand, the more Calvinistic Reformed groups from the European Continent did attempt to set up their own system of schools, but the leaders of their movement waited too late to challenge the public schools. Many of their congregations had already accepted the public schools, and that acceptance soon became devotion. Though the Reformed groups' Calvinist heritage in education prevented them from formally rejecting the notion of church control of education, they did silently abandon their claim;[50] that is, all of them but one group--the Christian Reformed Church. They will be examined later in more detail.

Among the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, the reaction to the public schools was sharply divided. The revivalistic "New School" Presbyterians, who were more dualistic in their approach to culture, accepted the public schools from the very beginning. The "Old School" Presbyterians, who held to the traditional Calvinist orthodoxy, reacted strongly against what they saw as the secularization of education in the early public schools. Centered at Princeton Seminary, the Old School Presbyterians attempted to set up a system of private schools, but they were doomed to failure almost from the beginning due to a lack of support and resources. At any rate, one can infer that the schools of the Presbyterians were established on a conversionist rationale, though time does not permit exploration of the subject.

Of particular interest are the English Congregationalists, the direct descendants of the Puritans. The Congregationalists were strongest in

New England, where the Second Awakening had fostered a strong religious patriotism, or civil religion. According to Curran's research, in almost every case the Congregationalists supported the public schools. This at first seems odd in light of the strong conversion attempts and the doctrinal dogmatism of their Puritan forefathers. However, the discrepancy can be clarified by Curran's poignant observation that the Puritan Church "had indeed evolved since the days of the Cottons and the Mathers."[51] Between the Puritans and the Congregationalists of the 1830's were two periods of alternating religious decay and revival that had weakened the Puritan's Calvinism and brought some measure of tolerance to the Congregationalists. In fact, the Congregationalists proudly supported the public schools, considering the Puritan schools of their forefathers to be the forerunners of the common schools. Obviously, they chose to focus more on the Puritan impulse toward universal education than on the need for religious indoctrination.[52]

Even the Congregationalists appear to have moved closer to a dualistic approach to culture as the common schools secularized. W. S. Dutton, a Congregationalist pastor, sounded much more like a Baptist than a Puritan when he wrote, "The state, the civil power in whatever form in this country, is no more Protestant, or Christian, than it is Jewish or Mohammedan. It is of no religion whatever."[53] He declared that the state schools should be completely secularized. Statements such as his in 1848 can in no way be interpreted as conversionist. Had John Calvin heard Dutton's remark, he would undoubtedly have said that Dutton was denying God's sovereignty over the state and education. Dutton and other Congregationalists were no longer the thoroughgoing conversionists of their forefathers. The dualistic tendencies of the revivals had indeed

touched the Congregationalists.

Civil Religion and Dualism as Rationales for Supporting Public Schools. Most Protestants did not go so far as Dutton to advocate the complete secularization of education. They doubted that the separation of church and state was ever meant to keep God out of the public schools. Most desired at least the reading of the Bible in their children's schools. As the nineteenth century progressed, however, they realized that a partial secularization of the schools was necessary in order to train the religiously diverse flood of immigrants in the workings of American democracy.[54]

In terms of their approach to culture, American churchgoers had no other way to justify this secularization than to turn to the dualistic tendencies of the revivals. Martin E. Marty wrote that, during this time, an entire wing of conservative American Protestantism "conceived of itself as largely concerned with private faith." Shaped by revivalism, "the leaders made no effort to encourage participants to express their faith in the public order."[55] Such an attitude would not lend itself to a private religious school movement.

William Kennedy reinforced this point in his discussion of the shaping of Protestant education. He said that from 1789 to 1860, American Protestants adopted a general strategy of education, called the "dual educational strategy."[56] Protestants relied on the public schools for general moral training, and they relied on the Sunday schools, which had developed just prior to the common school movement, for training in sectarian doctrine. Kennedy indicated the civil religion rationale for supporting the public schools when he wrote:

> The common schools became an agency for the new religious identity of Americans. Religion was tied to nationalism in a very subtle and close way, and the Bible became the patriotic as well as religious symbol.[57]

Kennedy also indicated how a dualistic approach to culture could be related to American Protestantism's support of the early common schools:

> The Sunday school was by definition "sacred," since it was assigned that specialty. Common schools taught life, "real life," and prepared one to make a living and be a citizen in the republic. Sunday schools taught religion, and their institutional separation helped keep religion isolated from the major affairs of life. Thus the separated emphasis on the sacred led to an irrelevance that often relegated to the Sunday school a teaching of piety uninvolved with much of the mainstream of life.[58]

In summary, Protestant support of the public school came from two sources: religious nationalism and dualism. First, nineteenth century Protestants were "good Americans," both religious and patriotic, and America had shown itself to be God's Chosen Nation. Their Christian nation was building public schools that would inevitably reflect the religious foundations of the Chosen Nation. For them, the refusal to support the public schools would imply the rejection of both God and country.

Second, Protestants supported the public schools because the revivals had taught them that God was most concerned with spiritual matters. Because they believed the church's work in the world is primarily spiritual, their educational efforts focused on the spiritual realm. This work in "spiritual education" they were already doing in the grass roots Sunday schools. So the State was held responsible for the more mundane, earthly matters in education. Besides, in America's increasingly urban and industrial society, only the State could adequately prepare Protestant children for successful living in this world. It amounted to nothing less than a division of labor, with the Church laboring in sacred matters and the State laboring in secular matters. In this way, a dualistic approach to

culture contributed to the Protestant support of the public schools.

The Christian School Community's Attitudes Toward the Early Schools. Without surprise, the advocates of today's Christian schools have much to say regarding the early public schools. They tend to express ambivalent feelings about this period. Some, exemplified by Blumenfeld and Kienel, believe the churches should never have allowed the State to control primary education. They emphasize that the public schools from the beginning were opposed to traditional Protestant religion. Blumenfeld wrote an article which argued that the schools went public because of the weakening of Calvinism, portraying Horace Mann as a Unitarian liberal out to destroy religion in America.[59] Kienel wrote that the public school system "was the culmination of a major revolt against the conservative Puritan Church by the liberal Unitarians."[60]

On the other hand, other members of the Christian school community hold the early public schools in high regard because of the schools' strongly religious character. They emphasize the work of such Christians as Noah Webster and William McGuffey in writing textbooks that "referred to God without embarrassment."[61]

Those among the Christian school community who look with contempt at the early public schools do so because the public schools represent a move away from the Calvinist tradition of education under church control. Those who look favorably upon the early public schools do so because the early public schools were strongly influenced by the churches. In both cases, one finds evidence that the Christian school community is conversionist in its approach to culture. Those who do favor the early schools do so because of the conversionist elements in them; those who do not favor the early schools do so because they see in them the signs of a

trend away from conversion.

Fundamentalists and Culture Disengaged (1900-1940)

The next significant period in this religious history of sorts is that of the so-called "Fundamentalist-Modernist" controversies of the early twentieth century. This period is important for two reasons. First, during this time, fundamentalistic Christians moved much further on the continuum toward disengagement from culture. Second, many of the leaders of the Christian school community believe the decade of the 1920's was the turning point--the period of the "spiritual demise" of the state-supported schools.[62] This paper examines the period by looking at the nature and causes of the "Great Reversal" of evangelicals away from social concerns. Several prominent fundamentalists will then be examined in order to illustrate both the Great Reversal and the nature of fundamentalism's ambivalence toward culture in the early twentieth century. Finally, we shall look directly at the fundamentalist involvement in education in an effort to see precisely why fundamentalists did not leave the public schools then as many fundamentalists have done more recently.

The Great Reversal. Perhaps a brief review at this point would be helpful. According to Marsden, fundamentalism had two broad sources for its heritage. The first and oldest was that of the Puritan and Calvinist traditions. These traditions maintained the ideal of building a Christian civilization and tended to dominate the Protestant denominations' approach to culture in the nineteenth century. The second and more immediate tradition was that of revivalism and pietism. This heritage tended toward "individualistic, culture-denying, soul-rescuing Christianity."[63]

These two traditions of Calvinism and revivalism were in conflict

regarding the relationship of Christianity to culture. The tensions between the two traditions inevitably led to a great deal of ambivalence in fundamentalism's approach to culture. This ambivalence will be illustrated shortly, but first a trend will be examined that affected most fundamentalists during the early twentieth century. It is called the "Great Reversal."

The Great Reversal refers to the dramatic disappearance of social concern among fundamentalists by the 1920's. Marsden has identified two stages in this transition. In the first stage from 1865 to 1900, evangelicals dropped the use of political means to transform society. This stage only prepared the way for what followed in the more dramatic second stage from 1900 to 1930. During this later period, fundamentalistic Christians dropped the use of private charity and all other typical expressions of progressive social concern. Of course, this is not to say that they never again entered the public scene. They did make several notable exceptions (e.g. Prohibition and the anti-evolution leagues), but these were deviations from the norm. Exceptions like them can be understood best as vestiges of the organizations and attitudes of the nineteenth century. The basic causes of this transition are difficult to determine, but they appear to be threefold: the holiness movement, the rise of dispensational premillenialism and the reaction to the liberal social gospel.

In the last one-third of the nineteenth century a significant number of persons were propagating with increasing success the so-called "holiness teachings." By emphasizing the work of the Holy Spirit, this movement also gave rise to Pentecostalism, but for most evangelicals it merely reinforced the pietistic traditions of their heritage. Those touched by

the holiness movements tended to stress the role of the Holy Spirit, rather than politics, as the important means of effecting change in people and society.[64] The net result was a more private, dualistic view of Christianity and culture.

The holiness movements also prepared the way for the wide-scale acceptance of premillenialism--the second factor in the Great Reversal. During most of the nineteenth century most Christians were postmillenial in their eschatology, optimistically working to advance God's kingdom in preparation for Christ's return. By 1930, however, most fundamentalists had rejected such "naive" expectations about humankind's ability to transform society before Christ's coming. Instead, they took a far more pessimistic attitude about the world. By accepting dispensational premillenialism, they were saying that the world would grow worse and worse rather than growing better and better before Christ's return. Such an attitude would naturally curb social concern by insisting on the futility of trying to transform society.[65]

The most crucial factor in the Great Reversal was the evangelical reaction to the social gospel. By 1920, Protestants were sharply divided on the nature of the Christian's work in the world. On the one hand, the fundamentalists stressed the need for soul-winning and individual morality (that is, no dancing, drinking, smoking, card-playing, etc.). On the other hand, the liberals sought to do God's work in the world through social activism. The rationale for this social activism was rooted in the Calvinist tradition of building the ideal Christian civilization. So when the fundamentalists rejected the liberal theology, they also rejected the liberal's engagement with culture. Men are transformed, the

fundamentalists would say, by personal salvation rather than by sociology.[66]

Excellent illustrations of this Great Reversal can be seen in the lives of many fundamentalists, such as D. L. Moody and Billy Sunday. For the sake of space, this paper will examine only one, perhaps the best, example of this transition in the life of John Roach Stratton.

Early in his preaching career, Stratton was postmillenial, like most in his day. He "envisaged humanity moving forward, growing better day by day."[67] Consistent with his optimism, he fought for Prohibition and the granting of suffrage to women. He was active in fighting commercialized vice, supporting minimum wage laws, profit-sharing plans and better working conditions for the poor. Two factors are said to have changed his Puritan vision of a better society. First, several of Stratton's personal campaigns were unsuccessful, and as time progressed, humanity seemingly did not. Second, his acquaintance with the liberal social gospel made his blood boil. He responded to it by stressing "regeneration, not reform; soteriology, not sociology."[68]

By the time Stratton moved to the lucrative pastorate of Calvary Baptist Church in New York, he had stopped giving social answers to social problems. In his eschatology, the United States had suddenly made the transition from the New Jerusalem to pagan Babylon.[69] Regarding problems in the public schools, Stratton, in true pietistic form, recommended that students fight their battles with love, making no mention of devising an organized strategy. Indeed, Stratton and many like him were part of a very significant transition among fundamentalistic Christians.[70]

Fundamentalist Ambivalence Toward Culture. What has been said thus far does not fully describe the ambivalence of fundamentalists in their

approach to culture from 1900 to 1920. This must be done in order for one to appreciate the diversity of historical fundamentalism and to understand fundamentalist activities in education.

Essentially, fundamentalists held to one of four views on the relationship between Christianity and culture.[71] The first group, and the smallest until the 1930's, carried their premillenial beliefs to a separatistic extreme. For them, Christ rejected the world and the present age. The earth was doomed for destruction and any attempts to save it were futile; the best that true Christians could do was to separate from society to remain pure until the return of Christ. The militant rhetoric of J. Frank Norris is similar to this group, though not as extreme. He minimized any effort to reform society because he was so preoccupied with the Second Coming. The premillenial view was for him the only missionary motive--a motive directed to individuals, rarely to society as a whole.[72]

The second group, though predominately premillenial, was somehow more optimistic than the separatists. These dualists believed that culture and Christ are in a paradox, an unresolvable tension. Minneapolis pastor William B. Riley was the leading spokesman for this group. Consistent with Niebuhr's description of the dualist position, Riley was conservative on political and social issues. For him, evangelism came first, and evangelism was carried out most easily in settings of relative cultural stability.[73] Also representative of this group were the newly emerging Bible institutes. Exemplified by Moody Bible Institute, these schools confined their curriculum to Bible study and practical missions. This limitation of Christian activities to piety and soul-winning has dominated most fundamentalist thought since the 1930's.[74]

A more Calvinistic group worked to preserve the Christian civilization

presumably established during the nineteenth century. William Jennings Bryan, the popular Presbyterian stateman, was the great leader of this, the largest concensus of fundamentalistic Christians up until the 1930's. Bryan was the twentieth century expression of the evangelicals that wedded American nationalism with Christian piety during the Second Awakening to bring about a sort of civil religion. Like most Americans, Bryan's thought was pragmatic. Christianity was right because it worked--it succeeded in building the greatest civilization on earth. Such an attitude helped him to gain the broad, cross-denominational following he had.

Much like those on the conversionist side of the continuum, Bryan "stressed the possibility of a better society in his own day through Christians who applied the teachings of Jesus to every human situation."[75] By "every human situation," Bryan meant the use of both political and religious means of converting society. He never understood why some believed that religion and politics should not mix.[76] He believed the Christian faith should have a substantial impact on America's social institutions, including government. Yet, due to America's religious diversity, Bryan was forced to distinguish between public and private faith.

The final and most purely conversionist of the fundamentalist positions on culture was that of the Old School Presbyterians at Princeton Seminary. Like Bryan, they believed that Christians working together could transform society, but they were more careful than Bryan to avoid the rhetoric of a civil religion. Whereas Bryan assumed American civilization was essentially religious, the Princeton community did not. The most significant theoretician of this group was the brillian New Testament scholar, J. Gresham Machen. As Russell wrote, "Machen took a wide inter-

est in the social issues of his day."[77]

Machen's approach to culture profoundly reflected his social interest. The classic expression of Machen's conversionist attitudes is found in his 1912 address at the convocation of Princeton Seminary. Machen defined the true relation of Christ and culture in terms of consecration. This he believed to avoid the extremes of culturalism and separatism:

> Instead of obliterating the distinction between the Kingdom and the world, or on the other hand withdrawing from the world into a sort of modernized intellectual monasticism, let us go forth joyfully, enthusiastically to make the world subject to God. . . . Instead of destroying the arts and sciences and being indifferent to them, let us cultivate them with all the enthusiasm of the veriest humanist, but at the same time consecrate them to the service of God.[78]

Machen truly represented the heart of the Calvinist Reformed tradition. It was this same tradition that led the Old School Presbyterians in the mid-nineteenth century to attempt their own parochial school system. It should come as no surprise, then, that of all the fundamentalists of the early twentieth century, only Machen advocated the adoption of private Christian schools. The New York Times recorded him saying, "Others hold that there should be distinct Christian schools for Christian children. And with that I am in full sympathy."[79] As we shall see, he was an ardent supporter of the conversionist schools of the Christian Reformed Church.

Fundamentalist Concerns in Education. One question still remains. If, as the Christian school community believes, the public schools experienced their greatest spiritual decline during the "Fundamentalist-Modernist" controversies, then why was Machen the only fundamentalist to favor the establishment of private Christian schools? The answer to this question is obviously complex. I suggest, though, that the answer should be understood in light of the various approaches to culture previously described. According to this study's interpretation, the conver-

sionists and separatists of the fundamentalists would be most likely to support private schools; those somewhere in between would tend to remain in the public schools.

Machen's attitudes regarding private Christian schooling have already been mentioned. As for the separatists, no record can be found of their involvement in private Christian schools. For one thing, they were so few in number that a Christian school movement could never have gotten off the ground. Yet, when fundamentalistic Christians joined the separatist ranks in the 1930's, one might assume they would then start their own schools. This did not happen for two reasons. First, money was scarce; many fundamentalist churches had gone into debt waging their wars during the controversies of the 1920's and the Great Depression certainly did not help. Second, the majority of these separatists were not completely radical in their approach to culture. Though they were alienated from the mainline churches, they still saw themselves as a part of "Middle America." As long as they believed they exercised some control over the schoolhouse in their rural community, they were happy with public education.

The dualists like Riley were initially involved in attempts to rid the public schools of Darwinism. Indeed, of all their work, their efforts in education were met with the greatest success, as evidenced by the thirty-seven anti-evolution bills introduced in state legislatures from 1921 to 1929.[80] In reality, however, the bills only became law in four or five states. Those few successes were just enough to prevent dualists from doubting the efficacy of the public schools.[81]

Overall, Riley's work in the public schools was limited when compared to his efforts in higher education. In his 1914 book, The Crisis in the

Church, his first chapter was on modern education, and it dealt with the liberal threat to higher learning. Modernism in colleges and universities, he feared, was a "deadly poison to immortal souls."[82] If Modernism could be checked in the colleges and universities, it would be no threat to children in primary school. As a consequence of this belief, Riley's involvement in education was mostly related to the building of Bible institutes and colleges; never did Riley advocate the building of Christian day schools.

Perhaps more than the dualists, those who sought to preserve Christian culture were concerned about the secularization of the public schools.[83] This is reflected in William J. Bryan's intense efforts to restore the Bible as the public schools' primary textbook. His role as prosecutor in the great Tennessee Scopes trial against defense attorney Clarence Darrow is well-known and does not need to be recounted here. But Bryan's victory in that court battle must not be mistaken as a victory for fundamentalism as a whole. When Bryan took the witness stand, Darrow took advantage of the opportunity to exploit the ignorance of the aging Bryan on particular questions of Biblical literalism, such as the origin of Cain's wife in Genesis 4. Fundamentalism's coup de grace, however, was Bryan's death on the Sunday after the trial ended. The group of religious patriots striving to preserve Christian culture would never again have a prominent spokesperson. Chicago columnist H. L. Mencken took the opportunity of Bryan's death to write an anti-eulogy. In his scathing wit, Mencken left a caricature of fundamentalism that has held to this day.[84]

Undoubtedly, this large group of fundamentalistic Christians felt disenfranchised. For the first time they could recall, they were the objects

of America's ridicule. Why, then, did they not abandon America's public schools? Essentially for the same reasons that Riley did not. They fell back on their few legal successes and presumed that their Christian work should be in the piety of Bible-reading, prayer, worship and soul-winning. These kinds of activities were not subject to successes in court trials. Nor was a prominent spokesperson such as Bryan needed to carry out such spiritual endeavors. One might say that religious expression for them simply went underground, only to resurface in the past decade.

In summary, the controversies and upheavals of the 1920's failed to instigate a private Christian school movement. The resources--both money and teachers--were absent. Anti-catholic sentiment also probably discouraged the cultivation of parochial schools. The fundamentalists' overwhelming concern for the colleges, universities and seminaries took attention away from the public schools. The handful of successes in fighting evolution lulled them into a continued acceptance of public schools. Finally, the tendency to view religion as a private matter of piety and morality did not lend itself to a wholesale exodus from the state schools.

By the time of the Great Depression, fundamentalists were not receiving media coverage like Billy Sunday and William J. Bryan had enjoyed. In a sense, not only did fundamentalists separate from society, but society separated from fundamentalists, leaving them, society hoped, to die of the weight of twentieth century progress. But fundamentalism did not die. It thrived in its own world, building radio empires, Bible schools and superchurches. In the midst of these activities, only a handful of fundamentalistic Christians, the neo-evangelicals, started building Christian day schools in the years following World War II.

If this paper followed a strict chronological order, then the neo-evangelical schools would be the next topic of discussion. However, we must first examine the source of the early Christian school rationale--the Calvinist schools of the Christian Reformed Church. In doing so, I shall describe the primary historical precedent for conversionist Christian schools.

HISTORICAL PRECEDENT

Almost without exception, experts on religious schooling emphasize the separatistic nature of any and all private religious school movements. This is not without reason. When one looks at church groups maintaining private schools, one notices that many of them stemmed from new immigrant groups (for example, the Roman Catholics, the German Lutherans, and the Christian Reformed Churches). Those who have come to the New World since the days of Horace Mann have seen the public schools as threats to their cultural heritage. In order to maintain this heritage, these immigrant groups have banded together apart from the mainstream of American life in hopes of rearing their children in conditions somewhat similar to those of their homeland.[85]

Using Niebuhr's categories, this can only be interpreted as a separatistic approach to culture. However, the point of this paper is that separation alones does not account for the rationale of some Christian day schools. Although separation appears to be, and usually is, inherent in any private religious school movement, separation for some is not an end in itself. Instead, some of these schools find their raison d'etre in the transformation of culture.

Before examining the actual Christian day school movement among the neo-evangelicals in the 1940's, attention must go back in time to the nineteenth century. This is done for two reasons. First, this section hopes to describe an excellent example of conversionist Christian schools. The Puritans (and to a lesser degree the Old School Presbyterians) were not the only Calvinists to build conversionist schools. During the nineteenth century the Christian Reformed Church built private schools on a strongly Calvinist rationale. Second, as already noted, the fundamentalistic Christian schools borrowed heavily from the Christian Reformed Church (CRC) for their own rationale, and a good understanding of the history and philosophy of the Christian Reformed schools provides many insights into the dynamics of today's Christian school movement.

Ecclesiastical and Educational History of the Christian Reformed Church

The following analysis draws heavily from a recent essay by Donald Oppewal and Peter P. DeBoer on the schools of the Christian Reformed Church.[86] Oppewal and DeBoer are both members of the CRC and professors of education at the CRC's denominational college, Calvin College. Also, several of the leaders of the Christian day school movement are graduates of Calvin College, and their conversionist approach to culture reflects the cultural stance of Calvin College. This conversionist attitude is expressed clearly in the opening words of the Calvin College catalog, "The Christian Reformed Church stresses the sovereignty of God in every part of life--in the family, the church, the state; in world affairs; in economic, social and political life; in business; and in learning and the arts."[87]

The schools of the CRC (henceforth referred to as "Calvinist day schools") have their ultimate roots in the schools begun by John Calvin in Geneva in the sixteenth century. These schools have "always found cultural expression and produced an effect upon economics, politics, and education."[88] Two Dutch Reformed groups--the Seceders and the Kuyperians--established Calvinist day schools in America in the mid-nineteenth century.

The Seceders were the first of the two groups to migrate to the United States. They left the Reformed Church of the Netherlands due to persecution, crop failure and a depressed economy. Upon settling in western Michigan (in what is now Grand Rapids), they immediately established a handful of schools. Within only a few years, though, the Christian school ideal had failed among the Seceders, most of whom were too poor to support private education. In 1857 several of these congregations seceded from America's Dutch Reformed Church to form the True Dutch Reformed Church, (today called the Christian Reformed Church). It was within this small group that the Calvinist school ideal survived.

The schools of the Seceders were strongly separatistic in spirit. They unabashedly denounced cultural engagement, saying activity in politics, scholarship and the arts would inevitably taint Christians with the stain of worldliness. The schools they established were in every case parochial, meaning that they were administered and controlled by the local congregation, with the pastor fulfilling the duties of schoolmaster.

In the 1870's, American Calvinists began to feel the influence of a revival begun by Abraham Kuyper in The Netherlands. Large numbers of pastors, educators and laymen came to America "on fire with Kuyperian Cal-

vinist ideas."[89] Their enthusiasm brought new life to the educational efforts of the Christian Reformed Church. The schools established in the Kuyperian spirit, however, were very different from those originally established by the Secederes.

First, the Kuyperian approach to culture was strongly conversionist. Kuyper called the faithful to become involved in politics, scholarship and the arts. One should note that Kuyper was no less antithetical than the Secederes, for he emphasized the antithesis between Christian and non-Christian thought.[90] Yet, Kuyper certainly was not anticultural. Oppewal and DeBoer write:

> Fully as orthodox as the Secederes, and as fervent in piety, Kuyper believed that Calvinism was not limited to matters of religion, narrowly defined, but included politics, economics, science, and the like--or in his favorite phrase, "every sphere of life."[91]

This distinction between antithetical and anticultural thought is often the key to distinguishing between separatists (who are both antithetical and anticultural) and conversionists (who are merely antithetical).

Second, the Kuyperian schools were not administered by the local church. This was due to Kuyper's doctrine of the "spheres of sovereignty." Assuming the sovereignty of God in every part of life, Kuyper maintained that each sphere of life had its own character and was subject to its own laws. This meant that family, government, education, church and science each have their own sphere under their own control, and none of these spheres could interfere with the activities of the other. In Kuyper's theory, education came under the sovereignty of the family--not the church or state. As a result, he admonished parents with children in either public schools or parochial schools. In place of public and parochial schools, he asked that schools be administrated by societies of

parents and concerned laypersons. This would give parents the divinely sanctioned authority that they have over their children's education. This attitude about education can be seen in B. J. Bennink's words below:

> In Socialistic circles the old Platonic idea that children belong to the State may still be held, and the Roman Catholic may sanction the idea that the Church owns the child, but the man whose mind is unbiased will unhesitatingly declare, surely the child belongs to the parents, and they are its responsible educators.[92]

So the Calvinist day schools in the nineteenth century had two roots, the Seceders and the Kuyperian Calvinists. Oppewal and DeBoer continue their summary:

> The Seceder root branched into an overwhelming concern for purity of doctrine, a pietism which often took on an anticultural color, and a desire to establish Christian schools controlled by the churches, which would guarantee the survival of the churches and safeguard the faith of the true believer. The Kuyperian Calvinist root branched into a persistent concern for cultural engagement, testing the spirits to see whether they are of God, and seeking to establish the Lordship of Jesus Christ in all areas of life. The Kuyperians established schools controlled by parents and interested laypersons, convinced that neither church nor state controlled education.[93]

Over the next several decades until the 1920's, the schools of the CRC were engaged in an interaction regarding their approach to education, some taking the approach of the Seceders, some the Kuyperians.

During this time, Calvin College grew to become the major supplier of teachers for the Calvinist day schools. In 1920, the National Union of Christian Schools was organized, finally replacing the denominational structure with a union of laymember school boards. This represented the symbolic break from parochial schools that Kuyper envisioned. Currently, virtually all of the Calvinist day schools are organized in the Kuyperian spirit of cultural engagement and parental control.

The Calvinist Day School Rationale. Particularly since the formation of the National Union of Christian Schools (NUCS) in 1920, leaders and

spokespersons for the Calvinist day schools have formed a rather strong philosophical defense for the existence of their schools. Oppewal and DeBoer indicate the underpinnings of the schools by stressing the positive reasons for the schools' existence. They write:

> The case for the Calvinist school does not rest on any presumed or real deficiences in the isolated practices of the American public school. It does not exist because of a protest against any specific public school practices relating to its handling of religion or its curricular content affecting values education. It does not reside simply in an immigrant mentality or a desire for social isolation. The Calvinist school is a protest movement only in the sense that its theology provides it with educational positions on key questions that make the very conception of a religiously neutral, government-sponsored educational system pedagogically problematic if not impermissible.[94]

The most pervasive reason behind this stand in education is the Reformed emphasis on the sovereignty of God. The CRC philosophy of education "is an unconditional commitment to the proposition that all things are of God, through God, and unto God."[95] If God's sovereignty permeates all spheres of life, then surely education expresses far more than a secular concern. The Christian's calling encompasses all aspects of culture, and education is fundamental in providing children with a world view in which God is sovereign.

Another important doctrine for the Calvinist day schools is related to the nature of revelation. Reformed doctrine has always been committed to both general and specific revelation. The Bible and nature are both considered to be sources of truth "emanating from one sovereign God." The Calvinist day schools therefore postulate "no basic dichotomy between the sacred and secular."[96]

This attitude toward revelation has led the NUCS to stress a final doctrine, that of the Christian's cultural mandate. Rooted in God's Gene-

sis directives to Man, these schools see their task as that of "helping young Christians to exercise cultural dominion rather than cultural isolation."[97] Such an educational aim of cultural involvement and transformation, rooted in an emphasis on the sovereignty of God, has led the Calvinist day schools to "integrate" religion in all the other disciplines so that Christ "permeates" the school's curriculum. Schultz described these efforts thus:

> The Reformed system of Christian education inculcates an awareness of God in every classroom. God is made as consciously present in the mind of the child in the arithmetic classroom as he is in the doctrine class. All the courses go into the making of an integrated, God-centered whole.[98]

Influence of the Calvinist School Rationale

For a denomination of approximately one-half million members, the Christian Reformed Church has had a tremendous impact on fundamentalistic religious groups. This impact is most easily detected in the proliferation of their conversionist (they call it "transformationalist") approach to culture, and it is communicated most often through their day school rationale. The paper will soon examine the fundamentalistic Christian day school rationale, at which point the reader can see its similarities to the Calvinist day schools. At this point, however, attention will turn to the more direct evidence of the relationship between the evangelical Christian school leaders, J. Gresham Machen, and the schools of the CRC.

As already mentioned, of all the prominent fundamentalists of the 1920's, only Machen is known to have advocated the establishment of private Christian schools. This appears to stem from his contact with the Christian Reformed Church. On several occasions he traveled to Grand Rapids, home of Calvin College and the NUCS, once in 1925 to visit in the

home of Professor Samuel Volbeda. Upon attending worship in a Christian Reformed church Machen remarked:

> There is no trouble about Church attendance in the Christian Reformed Church. The reason is that the children do not go to the public schools but to the "Christian schools" of the Church, where they get a real, solid education with a sturdy Calvinism at the very centre of it. There is nothing like it elsewhere in America. I wish it could leaven the whole lump.[99]

Unlike several of his more liberal Princeton colleagues who classified the CRC with the separatistic sects, Machen believed that the CRC stood at the center of the Reformed tradition. In fact, he traveled to Grand Rapids in two successive years (1933/4) to address the National Union of Christian Schools. The very titles of those addresses indicate his views on private Christian schools: "The Necessity of the Christian School" and "The Christian School, the Hope of America." To Machen, Christian schools were necessary as a leaven for the "whole lump" of education. He believed the best hope for not only the preservation but the proliferation of the historic fundamentals of the faith lies in the establishment and growth of Christian schools.[100]

It was not until 1947, however, that any fundamentalist or evangelical attempted to develop an administrative structure for Christian schools outside of the CRC. At that time, Mark Fakkema, a graduate of Calvin College,[101] left the National Union of Christian Schools in Grand Rapids to form the National Association of Christian Schools (NACS) in Wheaton, Illinois.[102] The NACS performed most of the same functions that the NUCS did for Calvinist schools--providing information, textbook advice and teacher placement services. The primary difference between the NUCS and the NACS was the nature of the churches they served. The NACS perceived of itself as a broad evangelical organization for congregations in the

free-church tradition, rather than the creedal/confessional churches of the CRC.[103] Since 1947 the NACS has evolved and merged with other associations to form what is today's Association of Christian Schools International (ACSI). (Not to be outdone, the NUCS changed its name several years ago to become Christian Schools International.)

I suspect that a substantial number of the leaders of the Christian day school movement have ties with the NUCS (or today's CSI) and Calvin College, but time does not permit a precise analysis of this matter. Research has revealed that at least two other individuals involved in Christian day schools are somehow related to the CRC organizations. One is Frank E. Gaebelein, who made several visits to Calvin College and the NUCS headquarters in Grand Rapids before he died.[104] We shall soon see his influence in developing the rationale for the early evangelical day schools. The other individual is James J. Veltkamp, a graduate of Calvin College's department of education.[105] He is currently chairman of the Department of Education at Christian Heritage College in California, where Tim LaHaye served as President until his recent move to Washington D.C. Veltkamp wrote an essay in The Philosophy of Christian School Education, which is published by the ACSI.[106]

Undoubtedly, this is direct evidence of the relationship between the rationale for today's Christian day schools and the Calvinist day schools. Yet only a more direct look at the literature of the Christian school movement can show the conversionist elements in the Christian school rationale. This much is self-evident: To whatever degree the Christian schools borrowed from the Calvinist school rationale, they are based on a conversionist approach to culture.

Chapter 2

CHRISTIAN DAY SCHOOLS FROM 1940 TO PRESENT: A SPLIT-PENDULUM

Thus far the paper has not dealt directly with the Christian day schools. This is not without reason. Christian day schools in the forties and fifties were established in a certain context, a context that must be understood through history. What history has shown is that from the Puritans to the evangelicals of the Awakenings to the fundamentalists of the 1920's, fundamentalistic Christians gradually disengaged from culture. This has been described in terms of the trend from a conversionist approach to culture to a dualist and then moderately separatist approach to culture. Another way to speak of this trend is the movement away from a Calvinist-Reformed approach to culture toward a pietistic concern for strictly "spiritual" matters.

Of course, throughout this time, fundamentalistic Christians developed a resilient pattern of support for the public schools. This has been shown to be related to their dualistic approach to culture. Almost without exception, Protestants were content with this dual educational strategy, sending their children during the week to public schools for secular learning and to church on Sundays for religious training. Even after the fundamentalists went underground following the controversies of the twenties, there was no immediate backlash against public schooling on the elementary level. So the trend thus far described has been one-directional, consistently moving toward separation from culture. The pendulum has swung only from one side to the other. Around 1945, however,

the pendulum splits.

In the remainder of this paper the precise nature of this split pendulum will be described as it relates to the Christian day school movement. In summary, the neo-evangelicals broke from fundamentalism in the 1940's, at which time they rejected the trend toward separation from culture and espoused the rhetoric of converionists. In education they borrowed heavily from the Calvinist day schools for their own day school rationale and administrative pattern. Then, in the sixties and seventies, a large number of Christian day schools were established, many of them on the other side of the pendulum with a more separatistic spirit. Today the split pendulum continues to exist. Some of today's schools have no intention of effecting any change in culture, their primary purpose being to preserve through isolation the values of a culture forsaken by the rest of the world. But many believe their schools are playing a vital role in bringing America "back to God." They want to confront the society in which they live, and their rhetoric shows that they are a part of the re-emergence of conservative Christianity in political and societal life.

THE EARLY CONVERSIONIST SCHOOLS OF THE NEO-EVANGELICALS (1940-1960)

In the 1920's Christianity was sharply divided between the fundamentalists and the modernists. According to the thought of that day, no one could stand on middle ground; either one accepted historic, supernatural Christianity or one did not. With time, however, these simple distinctions lost relevance to many fundamentalistic Christians who accepted the historic orthodoxy but wished not to be identified with the common caricature of fundamentalism. By 1947 they had a name; they were called neo-evangelicals.

These new evangelicals had grown weary of the theological and cultural excesses of fundamentalism. Led by Carl F. H. Henry, Harold Lindsell, Harold J. Ockenga and others, they found the anti-intellectualism, sectarianism and separatist theology of the fundamentalists to be distasteful. In contrast, the neo-evangelicals sought intellectual respectability, and they were not afraid "to handle the societal problems that fundamentalism evaded."[1] They hoped to return to the more respectable and culturally dominant evangelicalism of the nineteenth century, before the Great Reversal, when fundamentalistic Christians were still involved in curing the ills of society. At the same time and with even more force, they rejected the unbalanced attempts of the liberals in the Social Gospel. They believed the liberals had gone too far in rejecting the sole authority of Scripture and forsaking the spiritual needs of individual persons.

So the neo-evangelicals broke new ground, founding an organization that was as theologically orthodox as the fundamentalists while rejecting certain fundamentalist attitudes. The organization they formed was called the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE), and it exists to this day. (Today's representatives of neo-evangelicalism are called "establishment" or "right-wing evangelicals.")[2]

The National Association of Evangelicals' School Rationale

As the neo-evangelicals distanced themselves from the fundamentalists and the modernists, a handful of evangelical churches established private schools. By 1952 their ranks had grown to approximately ninety schools with five thousand pupils.[3] These schools did not go unnoticed by the neo-evangelicals. One evangelical, Mark Fakkema (whose connection with the Calvinist day schools has already been mentioned), attempted to focus

and strengthen these isolated schools through a new organization: the National Association of Christian Schools (NACS).

When the NACS was formed in 1947, the National Association of Evangelicals formed a committee to develop a philosophical rationale for private Christian schools. The findings of this committee were published in 1951 under the title, Christian Education in a Democracy.[4] Even critics have called the book "the most comprehensive and courageous attempt" to show how Christian schools should relate to American society.[5] No other work has come close to this one in providing a conversionist rationale for fundamentalistic Christian day schools. This is probably because since the sixties the Christian school community has readily capitalized on parental discontents about public education. Therefore, later writers have tended to exploit the negative reasons for the existence of Christian schools. In the embryonic stages of the movement, however, Christian day schools were established in a more positive, conversionist spirit.

The person behind the early Christian school rationale was the editor and primary writer of Christian Education in a Democracy, Dr. Frank E. Gaebelein. Educated at Wheaton College and Harvard University, he was the founder and first headmaster of Stony Brook School in Long Island, New York. Because his book has played such a key role in the history of the Christian school rationale, it will occupy the attention of this paper for some time. After analyzing Christian Education in a Democracy, we shall examine the work of another early theoretician in the Christian school movement, Joseph R. Schultz. In both cases, the focus will be on the conversionist elements of the Christian school rationale and on its similarities to the Calvinist day schools of the Christian Reformed Church.

The Christian Schools and Society. In both the preface and the conclusion of Christian Education in a Democracy, Gaebelein makes clear his intentions for the relationship of Christian day schools to American society. That relation is certainly not separation or isolation. This is not to say, however, that Christian education fits comfortably in its worldly setting. Gaebelein writes:

> From the beginning Christianity has not been at home in its worldly environment. Although it goes on in a worldly setting, Christian education also stands apart from the world, which in America means from this secularized society. Not that physical isolation is implied. The separation is spiritual, not material; the nonconformity is within and finds expression in purity of life rather than in withdrawal from human contacts. Asceticism is neither in the mainstream of Protestantism nor of Apostolic Christianity. The true function in the world of the individual Christian as well as of the Church is summed up in the declaration, "Ye are the salt of the earth." Salt can be a preservative only as it affects its environment. So also with Christian education; it too must interact with this American democracy in the midst of which it is called upon to do its work.[6]

So Gaebelein unequivocably rejects the separatist rationale for Christian day schools. Of course, he does speak of a kind of separation, but it is one which is not foreign to what Niebuhr meant by a conversionist approach to culture. Gaebelein is simply indicating that Christian education is distinct from the world, that there exists an antithesis, or contrast, between Christ and sinful society. Again, antithetical thought does not necessarily imply a separatist approach to culture. In fact, the acknowledgement of this antithesis is often a prerequisite for one to adopt a conversionist approach to culture. Only more anti-cultural sentiments warrant the labeling of a separatist.

Gaebelein believes Christian day schools function as "salt" in the world; at another point he calls Christian day schools the "elder brother" of the public schools.[7] He believes that the unique witness of the

Christian day school, as it interacts with American culture, can lead public schools to realize the error of their ways, bringing them to recognize the essentially religious nature of all education. If implemented, his ideas would have far-reaching effects, and he knows it: "This, then, is a manifesto, not a mere survey, on controversial issues it takes sides."[8] He continues:

> Men and women, administrators and teachers, schools and colleges willing to go all the way in Christian education may not be numerous; but under God their influence may yet tip the balances in favor of the spiritual revitalization needed to bring America victoriously through the ordeal of the age.[9]

In his conclusion, Gaebelein delineates the broad context of Christian education, saying, "The field of Christian education is the world." Its setting is not simply within the context of the handful of God's "true church." The neo-evangelicals feel that "there can be no isolationism for those who believe the Great Commission." Interpreted thus, Christian schools are a missionary enterprise that have already "exercised influence for Christ out of all proportion to their size." Gaebelein's prayer and the prayer of the other members of the NAE committee is that Christian education will reach the "uttermost parts of the earth."[10] Evidently, they never consider the validity of a separatist school rationale.

Man and the Elements of Culture. More evidence of the evangelicals' conversionist school rationale can be seen in their attitudes toward the nature of sin and its impact on man and culture. According to Niebuhr, the conversionist's attitude toward sin, as classically expressed by Augustine, is that sin is perverted good. Conversionists recognize the essential goodness in all God's creation, so they see sin as the perversion of this good; it is a "clinging to a created good, as though it were

the chief value."[11] Culture, therefore, is not inherently evil. It only becomes evil when man uses it for his own glorification.

This explains why Gaebelein so strongly emphasizes the differences between the "Christian view" of man and the "world's view." He believes modern educators have exalted man to the place of God. Calling their philosophy "secular naturalism," Gaebelein says the educational theorists of his day trust the child's innate goodness to shine through if schools would simply not stifle it. In contrast, Christian educators believe only the supernatural power of God's transforming activity could be trusted to restore what was lost in the Fall. Man is "created by God, made in the divine image, but with that image ruined beyond human power to mend it. Yet the image, though ruined, is not destroyed."[12] In this conversionist view, man, though fallen, remains capable of transformation.

Unlike the separatists, who distrust the sciences and the arts, Gaebelein is open to the use of television and psychological principles in Christian schooling. He writes:

> Evangelicalism does not refuse to utilize sound psychological principles, but rather sees them as wholly subordinate to the greater dynamic of Gospel truth.[13]

So psychology is not innately evil; it has simply been perverted by men in public education. When used for the glorification of God, psychology is good and upright; when used exclusively for human purposes, pyschology is manipulative. Gaebelein treats the newly invented television in much the same way as he does the new science of pyschology. Television is evil, he believes, only when it is used for man's glorification or when it takes the place of a higher good, just as man is sinful because he has placed his will above that of God. The elements of culture are generally capable

of being used for God's glory under certain conditions--namely, when God's sovereignty over the elements of culture is acknowledged.

> It is not so much that all television's concomitants are themselves evil; there is, for instance, nothing inherently wrong with a picture that moves either through television or an ordinary projector. What is in question is the use made of these things and their tendency to usurp the place that belongs of divine right to another.[14]

View of Reality and the Doctrine of Universality. Conversionists also have a particular view of time and reality, or the relationship between the temporal and the eternal. That conversionist view is reflected in this book when Gaebelein answers the charge that Christian education is otherworldly. Human life, Gaebelein says, is a unity; in no way is it to be dissected between this world and another.[15] In his mind, the Christian school does not

> wall off one world from another, but rather it gives full recognition both to the life of man in the light of God and to God's gracious activity through Christ with the life of man. Thus, and in a manner that is one of its crowning glories, Christianity combines in human life the temporal and the eternal.[16]

This is entirely consistent with Niebuhr's appraisal of the conversionist beliefs about time and reality.[17]

This view of temporaneity and eternity as a unity is closely related to Calvin's doctrine of universalism. As stated before, universalism refers to God's sovereignty over all aspects of life--the social, political, and physical, as well as that which is considered spiritual. This doctrine stands in stark contrast to that of the dualist who strives to distinguish between the secular/temporal and the sacred/eternal. Strongly emphasized by Gaebelein is the desire of evangelical Christian schools to teach the doctrine of univeralism through a united world view. He writes:

> All philosophy is a search for unity and ultimate reality--a unity that relates things understandingly and a reality that makes all else

> derivative. Therefore, the philosophy of the Christian schools holds that unity as well as ultimate reality must be sought in God "in whom we live, and move, and have our being," for "of him, and through Him, and to Him are all things."[18]

The similarities between this passage and the Calvinist day school rationale are undeniable.

The doctrine of universalism is often implied in terms other than the sovereignty of God. For example, Gaebelein distinguishes Christian philosophy from all others by the "centrality of Jesus Christ."[19] Also, "the centrality of the Bible in Christian education is organic," and the Bible provides "a unifying frame of reference for every other subject."[20] If the Bible is a unifying frame of reference for every other subject, then surely that will have certain implications for the curriculum of Christian day schools. Those implications Gaebelein readily articulates in terms of the need for a "thoroughly Christian" curriculum. In the excerpts below, one should notice how Gaebelein relates the doctrine of universalism to his rejection of the dualistic world view.

> The unfinished task of Christian philosophy as it applies to education is to demonstrate the relation of every subject, every policy, and every practice to Him who is Lord of all. . . .
>
> . . . The neglected area in the philosophy of Christian education does not lie in teaching classes of religion, planning worship services, activities of chaplains, or setting up doctrinal standards and safeguards; it lies rather in recognizing and working out the total Christian implications of the so-called "secular" studies and activities that occupy the major portion of a student's time.[21]

> The segregation of various fields of knowledge into the sacred and secular sets up distinctions contrary to the Christian faith. . . . For the Christian all studies should be sacred.[22]

> To say that a curriculum is Christ-centered is to more than pious aspiration. It means such things as these: that the study of the Bible holds not a marginal but a central place in the curriculum; that teachers of the so-called secular subjects will be alert to help students discover the Christian implications of the subject matter they are considering; that the great New Testament principle, "Whatsoever ye do in word or in deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus," is recognized as relevant to every class that is conducted. Again let

> it be said that in Christian education the distinction between secular and sacred has little force. A youth has made real progress in spiritual living when he understands that all honest work, well and faithfully done, is a service for God and is in that sense Christian.[23]

Undoubtedly, all of this is strong evidence for Gaebelein's rejection of a dualistic world view. One should note here that the dualism to which Gaebelein is reacting has two major sources. One is the pietistic traditions of the revivals which have already been discussed in this paper. The second source of dualism comes from the "secular naturalists" (as Gaebelein calls them) who, in the name of church/state separation, try to make a sharp distinction between the sacred and secular aspects of life. Then, by teaching only secular subjects five days a week in the public schools, the secular naturalists weaken children's religious commitment. At times Gaebelein implies that this dualistic world view would be common among Christian students in public schools. As noted by William Kennedy, children in public schools could easily view their week-day education as secular and their Sunday school as sacred.[24] But of the youth reared in church, a Christian home and school, Gaebelein writes, "Nothing in his life is wholly secular because he lives and serves as a new man in Christ Jesus." This student's commitment "colors all his outlook, and his purpose is in everything to do the will of God."[25]

Social Concern. In Gaebelein's writings on the need for student social concern, he gives clear evidence of neo-evangelicalism's rhetoric of cultural engagement, as well as evidence for the conversionist spirit of the Christian day school rationale. He says the relation of Christian schools to present-day social needs is the most misunderstood aspect of evangelical involvement in education. This he says has been largely due to the excesses of the Social Gospel. Unlike the fundamentalists,

Gaebelein does not allow his opposition to the Social Gospel to prevent him from advocating a return to cultural engagement. He writes:

> It must be admitted that, especially in recent years, evangelicals have tended increasingly to center their efforts upon personal redemption--which is the only redemption the Bible knows--in such a way as to minimize the social corollaries of the Gospel. The broad realm of social justice has been left largely to the liberal or humanistic theology, quite as if Christianity had nothing to say in this area.... The case against industrial exploitation, aggressive warfare, racial hatred, the liquor traffic, and other evils was pressed as if the vigorous support of many evangelical Christians did not exist. Thus the notion was conveyed that evangelical Christianity was disinterested in such things and concerned only with propagating beliefs regardless of man's present duty to society. In fact, a test of orthodoxy in some circles was for the pulpit to ignore discussion of such themes, the result being almost a smothering of the responsibility of the ministry to deal with social problems.[26]

At another point Gaebelein writes:

> To ignore our Christian obligation of being concerned about social justice, to continue unmindful of our obligation to our neighbor--this is simply to cut out of the Prophets page after page and to excise paragraph after paragraph from the Gospels and the Epistles.[27]

The answer to this failure to address social concerns, Gaebelein believes, can only come by doing two things. First, evangelicals must go "back to a legitimate evangelical heritage."[28] By this he means returning to the more conversionist spirit of the revivalists of the nineteenth century. Second, evangelicals can and must use Christian day schools to perpetrate such a Christian world view as would encourage social concern.

> Christian education, backed by more consistent adult example, is obligated to do more than it has yet done in showing youth that the Bible has a great deal to say about injustice, hatred, civic corruption, and all the other evils of our day.[29]

> Self-sacrificing action in behalf of others, the contribution of time and effort to the needs of the underprivileged, training in the consecrated use of money, understanding companions of different social, national, and racial backgrounds--these are some of the directions that voluntary expression of a student's faith should be encouraged to take. Certainly this day of world-wide need offers an abundance of opportunities for the development of social concern and the practice of Christian altruism. In a time when the majority of the human race

> is underfed, students may be challenged to do with less food at regular intervals to help those who are hungry.[30]

In a broad perspective, it must be admitted that Gaebelein's ideas about social concern remain somewhat dualistic, even though he definitely favors cultural engagement. For example, he never advocates an organized political effort on the part of Christians to transform society, and when he does speak of transforming society, he often does so in terms of "spiritual revitalization."[31] Yet when Gaebelein's vews on social concern are properly balanced with his emphasis on the doctrine of universalism, the scales weigh in favor of calling Gaebelein a conversionist. If he were consistent in his approach to culture, he might have expressed his social concern in even more vigorous and political terms, but he is constrained, as many fundamentalistic Christians are, by several factors. One constraining factor is his attitude toward the Social Gospel and the need for individual regeneration. Another factor is his premillenial eschatology. The tension between Gaebelein's premillenialism and his conversionist attitudes is clear in this passage:

> The seeming hopelessness of the world situation has also affected evangelical thinking regarding the social outreach of the Gospel. Evangelicals accept the Bible teaching that the world will not be saved by human effort and that the kingdom will be set up only by Christ at His return. But the Bible does not thereby sanction indifference to wrongs and injustices which cry aloud for rectification, nor does it condone slackness in working for better conditions here and now.[32]

All things considered, Gaebelein is probably as much a conversionist as a premillenial evangelical can be.

Church/State Separation. On issues regarding church and state, Gaebelein shows evidence of his conversionist tendencies. Attitudes about church/state separation are very important because the Christian school community believes the secularization of the public schools has been done

in the name of this principle. Gaebelein writes:

> Separation of public education from sectarianism is one thing. Separation from anything having to do with God and the spiritual life of man is another thing. . . . The first amendment to the constitution prohibits only the "establishment of religion." To press this to the extreme of modern secularization would have been contemplated with horror by the founders of the nation.[33]

Of course, few fundamentalistic Christians are ready to discard church/state separation altogether. Gaebelein remarks, "That this is an essential principle is unquestioned. It is the interpretation not the amendment itself that requires rethinking."[34]

The rethinking for which Gaebelein calls appears to be in line with the interpretations of church/state separation that dominated courts in the nineteenth century.[35] That interpretation, it has already been noted, originated with Isaac Backus near the end of the eighteenth century.[36] Courts in the twentieth century have insisted on a higher wall of separation much in line with Jefferson's interpretation of the relationship between church and state. Gaebelein certainly was in touch with the mood of the courts when he wrote the following:

> That the Bible may still be read so widely in the public schools of America indicates that the secularization of education is not complete. But troublesome problems are involved--which sooner or later may bring the question to the Supreme Court.[37]

Obviously, fears over the secularization of public education existed long before the Supreme Court decisions in 1962/3 regarding prayer and Bible reading in public schools. Yet, since 1963, the Christian school community has tended to focus on those rulings as the cause of American school secularization. Gaebelein's understanding of secularization was much more knowledgeable and perceptive.

Perhaps Gaebelein's greatest concerns regarding the secularization of public schools is the world view he feels they instill in children.

Children would never know God existed if they depended on the public school to tell them. Gaebelein believes even children with religious parents are in danger. He writes:

> It is easy to see how the influence of the most religious home may be smothered by a system of education which, despite its myriad activities, has no room for the Eternal. From the Christian point of view the chief concern in regard to public education is not that its activities are in themselves very bad, but simply that they are exclusively of this world. Whether it is right to subject youth to an atmosphere so spiritually non-committal for five days a week, nine months of the year, throughout the most formative period of human development is a question that weighs heavily upon the conscience of many Christian parents.[38]

Parent-Controlled Schools. If students are unable to learn a Christian world view in the public schools, then what alternative does the Christian parent have? According to Gaebelein, the alternatives include the following: parochial schools, independent boarding and day schools, and parent-controlled Christian schools. Parochial schools are rejected because of the obviously Catholic connotations. By parochial he means schools that are administrated by a local church or parish. As for independent boarding and day schools, few of them are Christian and even fewer are thoroughly Christian. By that he means Christ does not "permeate" their entire curriculum.[39]

The only other alternative is the parent-controlled Christian day school, whose popularity he says, in 1951, is "growing among evangelicals with the rapidity of a grass-roots movement."[40] It is interesting to note that Gaebelein gives credit to the Christian Reformed Church for the administrative pattern of these new schools, but he does not appear to recognize the debt the evangelical schools owe to the CRC for its educational philosophy. At any rate, Gaebelein's rhetoric immediately sounds like that of the Calvinist day schools. He writes:

> What is the appeal of this movement? The answer is found in the principles upon which the Christian day school is built. In no sense parochial, its major premise concerns the focus of responsibility for the child. With Scriptural backing it declares that the child belongs to the parents. It thus resists as totalitarian any tendency to make the child a ward of the State and stands for the democratic principle that the responsibility for children rests upon those who brought them forth.[41]

The reader should notice how very similar this passage is to the CRC's rationale for parent-controlled schools. It is almost as if Gaebelein accepts Abraham Kuyper's idea of spheres of sovereignty, saying the parents, not church or state, are responsible for their child's schooling.

When Christian parents have the courage to take full responsibility for their children's education, Gaebelein believes the remainder of the work simply falls into place. He writes:

> A group of like-minded parents band together in a Christian school society. They may not be of the same denomination, but they are convinced that their children must have God-centered and Christ-honoring education. Thus linked in a common purpose, they establish a school. Teachers are secured. Suitable classroom space, sometimes in a hospitable church, sometimes in a separate building, is obtained. Tuition is fixed at a minimum, the curriculum is planned to accord with state requirements as well as with Christian principles, and the school is launched.[42]

Thus the Christian day school movement was born, and it has yet to stop growing. It was initially cognizant of its debt to the Calvinist day schools regarding the emphasis on parental responsibility and control of the day schools. But perhaps even more significant are the other similarities of the Calvinist and neo-evangelical schools. Both emphasize the doctrine of the universal sovereignty of God. Both believe Christian education should in every way possible negate the false sacred/secular distinction in the Christian world view. Finally, both believe Christian day schools are a significant part of carrying out God's cultural mandate to Christians. The similarities are indeed unmistakable.

Joseph R. Schultz

Frank E. Gabelein was not the only evangelical writing about Christian schools in the 1950's. In 1954, Joseph R. Schultz wrote a doctoral thesis entitled, "A History of Protestant Christian Day Schools in the United States."[43] The title is a bit misleading. Although to do so would be out of historical character, the paper ends in a call to other evangelicals, particularly Southern Baptists, to join the young Christian day school movement. The purpose here for examining Schultz's work is to show again the conversionist tendencies for the rationale of the early Christian day schools.

In the administrative pattern of the schools, Schultz openly borrows from the Christian Reformed Church. Their distinct principle of the natural parental right is "being reviewed," he believes, "by the Protestant world as never before."[44] Schultz falls far short of becoming a Kuyperian Calvinist in regard to the "spheres of sovereignty," but he does accept without reservation the CRC's view about parental control of education.

Like Gaebelein, Schultz believes the growing Christian day schools can have a transforming effect on public schools, but the change will be more of an indirect effect of the proliferation of Christian schools. He says:

> Thus a wholesome outcome of the growth of religious schools may well be the awakening of public education to the dangers of the naturalistic dogmatism that is causing more Christian parents to send their children to Christian schools.[45]

Schultz's approach to culture is seen most clearly in his emphasis on the sovereignty of God in every aspect of life. He often calls this, "Christianity as a totality of life."[46] The reader should examine the following excerpts from his thesis and notice how his attitudes would necessarily negate a dualistic approach to culture.

> The Christian philosophy of education is that Christianity is a life view and not simply a series of semi-related secular subjects. Christianity is an integrating force in all of life, including religion. Every aspect of life, every realm of knowledge and every fact of science find their place and their answer within Christianity. Christianity is an integral system of truth enveloping the entire world.[47]
>
> Science, history, philosophy, psychology, sociology and ethics must all reflect the basic idea that the God of Scripture, who is the creator and sustainer of the universe and the God and Father of the Lord Jesus Christ, is the source and integrating principle. The departmentalization of Christianity into one short class period is not the answer to the true system of Christian education.
>
> . . . The Sunday school, the vacation Bible schools, and the weekday church school have made a valiant effort in meeting immediate (educational needs). However, these systems have not been consistently worked out to teach and indoctrinate the totality of Christianity. Protestants believe that every phase of life comes from the same source, God, and contributes to the whole realm of truth. If this is true, then it must be conceded that any part-time system which separates Christianity from the rest of life is not true to the Christian philosophy of education.[48]
>
> How can Protestants really believe in Christianity as the totality of life and the only way to God without establishing a complete system of Christian education? The results of an ideal system of Christian education would be magnificent. The students would graduate with a full knowledge of evangelical Protestant Christianity. They would realize that Christianity is not just a series of unrelated teachings, but a world and life view involving every aspect of life and the world. They would be prepared to combat the opposing ideas of materialism and secularism with intelligence and conviction that the Christian conception of the universe is the true and complete one.

As one can easily see, Schultz tends to be a bit more dogmatic than Gaebelein, but overall their arguments are the same. Schultz's dependence on the Calvinist day school rationale is probably more detectable because he phrases his personal philosophy of Christian education in the same terms he used to describe the Christian Reformed schools earlier in his thesis.

Unlike Gaebelein, however, Schultz directly challenges the Protestant tendency to focus all of its formal educational efforts in colleges, universities and seminaries. He fears that the departmentalized (or dual-

istic) world view produced by public school attendance is too deeply ingrained in childhood for churches to expect the Christian colleges to correct them. If churches need Christian colleges committed to training men and women in vocations with a mind toward transforming society, then surely, Schultz believes, they need Christian day schools, for "every reason used in establishing and maintaining Christian colleges is true of the elementary and secondary schools."[50]

Summary

Based on the writings of Gaebelein and Schultz, the early Christian school rationale can be summarized in three statements. First, the day schools borrowed heavily from the Christian Reformed Church for their rationale and administrative pattern. Second, their rationale clearly emphasizes the sovereignty of God over all aspects of life. Third, that the early movement was strongest among the neo-evangelicals proves that it was not a separatist movement, for the neo-evangelicals were reacting against the separatism of the fundamentalists.

Yet, perhaps what has been said does not tell the whole story about Christian schools established in the mid-twentieth century. In all probability, a number fundamentalists established Christian day schools apart from the neo-evangelicals in the forties and fifties. The schools they established, one might expect, differed from the neo-evangelicals in certain important ways, much like the differences between the Secederes and the Kuyperian Calvinists of the CRC.

First, the fundamentalist schools were openly separatistic and anti-cultural in their rationale. Second, they were what Gaebelein would have called "parochial schools," in that they were administrated by the local

church and not by an interdenominational group of parents. This stricter control of the school would be typical for fundamentalists known for their hyper-orthodoxy. All things considered, though, the fundamentalists were not full-fledged members of the Christian day school movement until the sixties and seventies when they became responsible for its most dramatic growth. The paper now turns to their involvement in the movement and to the more negative rationale for Christian schools.

THE FUNDAMENTALISTS AND THE NEGATIVE SCHOOL RATIONALE (1960-1986)

All social and religious movements are, metaphorically speaking, movements away from one thing and toward another. In these terms, the neo-evangelicals of the fifties were moving away from the secularization of America's social institutions. Yet, they were certain that the schools they established possessed attractive qualities apart from the negativities of public education. Stated another way, they did not define their movement solely in terms of their reaction to society's problems, but also in terms of what qualities they believed their schools possessed that could confront and alleviate society's problems. In their situation, the exigency of secularization compelled them toward a conversionist school rationale.

By the time of the cultural upheavals of the sixties and seventies, however, the allurement of the Christian schools rested mostly in the desire to escape from the problems in public schools and society as a whole. Overall, the movement's phenomenal growth during this time was due more to social instability than the strengths of Christian schools. This led to a more separatistic and isolationist approach to culture than the culture-engaging schools represented by Gaebelein. Many of the schools

lost the vision of their transforming effect on society and became escapist havens for parents who wished to shelter their children from twentieth century reality.

Undoubtedly, the Christian school community readily capitalized on parental fears, and the quality of their rhetoric suffered because of it. This is not to say, however, that the conversionist Christian school rationale died altogether with the advent of the sixties. This fact is evident in these words from a 1967 article quoted in Christianity Today:

> The Protestant Christian school exists in the interest of the Christian witness in the world; the school is an instrument for the subjecting of the secular world to the reign of Christ.[51]

In the section which follows, this paper will attempt to summarize that which negatively motivated the Christian school movement. This is done for two important reasons. First, these negative, reactive motivations dominated the rhetoric of the Christian school movement from the time of its initial rapid growth in the mid-sixties until recently. Second, this reasoning is still a major portion of even the most nearly conversionist rationales given for modern Christian day schools. As a result, it must be summarized in order for this paper to give a true picture of the Christian day school movement.

The Reaction to Integration

Perhaps the darkest side of the Christian school movement is its relationship to latent racism. In 1971, Walden and Cleveland wrote on the growing Christian schools in the South. The timing of their study was critical, for, as they wrote, desegregation was "effected on a broad scale throughout the Deep South in the fall of 1970."[52] Their study showed a consistent correlation between the desegregation of the public schools in

local communities and the growth of private Christian schools.

Of course, the whites involved in the private schools played down the issue of racism, and none of them publicly recruited students by exploiting the fears of racists. Most of the whites claimed that they did not dislike or look down on blacks; they simply did not believe their children could receive a good education in a school going through the traumas of integrating blacks and whites.[53]

Whether there was any truth (or merit) to the whites' argument is not for this paper to decide. But one thing is clear--the Christian school movement did benefit numerically from the desegregation of the public schools, particularly in the South and in the late sixties and early seventies. Indeed, leaders of the Christian schools have worked diligently since then to overcome the stigma of racism. For example, Jerry Falwell was moved to write, "The modern Christian school movement is distinctively religious in orientation, is definitely not racially motivated, and is dedicated to quality education."[54] Also, the Association of Christian Schools International (ACSI), which is the largest Christian school organization in America, requires its member schools to confirm an open enrollment policy to students of every race and color.

Alienation and the Disintegration of the Civil Religion

Although public school integration was an important factor in some parents moving their children to Christian schools, the foremost expert on the Christian day school movement, James Carper, believes that the broader effects of the evangelical alienation from the American mainstream has been the primary factor in the movement's growth.[55] Evangelicals today feel much less at home in modern society than their grandparents at the

turn of this century. The influence of conservative Christianity did indeed diminish; society had changed and virtually left fundamentalistic Christians behind.

Perhaps the most important factor in their alienation was the disintegration of the American civil religion. As already noted, this civil religion was fashioned in the Second Awakening and began to lose its force in the early twentieth century, thus bringing on the the work of William J. Bryan and others in the 1920's who wanted to preserve the Christian heritage of the United States. Not until the sixties, however, was the full brunt of this breakdown felt in relation to the public schools. In 1962 and 1963, the Supreme Court ruled that prayer and Bible reading in the public schools constitute the establishment of religion in violation of the first amendment.

For the many Christian parents who had been sleeping through the gradual secularization of the public schools, this shocked them to their senses. Public schools could no longer be trusted to transmit the culture that gave them their values. Even the "Roman Catholic threat" was not sufficient to rally Protestant support behind the public schools as it did in the nineteenth century. Indeed, conservative Protestants had lost control of public education just as they had lost influence on American culture, and they resented it.

As Richard Quinney has written, the failure of the evangelical civil religion forced fundamentalistic Christians to separate further their lives into two spheres--one public and one private. Privately, the Christians were told they were free to hold any belief they wanted, but publicly they were no longer allowed to exercise their conscience because that would infringe on the religious freedom of others.[56]

The dualists responded to this challenge by passively accepting the court's decisions. (Remember, most fundamentalistic Christians in the sixties and seventies were dualists in their approach to culture.) Though they would have preferred to maintain prayer and Bible reading in public schools, they realized that cultural diversity was at present inescapable. Besides, they said, religion stands outside the world, in the spiritual, not the material. They then trusted the influences of their homes and churches for the spiritual food their children needed. As long as the public schools were religiously neutral, the dualists perceived in them no threat.

In contrast, the increasing alienation of private faith from public life became intolerable for many devout church-goers. Forced by an untenable sacred/secular distinction to adopt a different approach to culture, many moved with the neo-evangelicals toward a conversionist approach to education. Their activities took two forms. First, they became active within the public schools to return them to their religious function. Second, they became active in supporting private schools that stressed the cultural mandate of Christians to convert culture.

Like the conversionists, the separatists also believed secularization represented not the religious neutralization of public schools but the making of the schools to be anti-Christian. Their response was complete separation from public education. To them, public education was doomed to be controlled by the forces of evil, so the only alternative was the establishment of private fundamentalist schools. There the once dominant evangelical culture could be preserved without blemish from the world.

In short, the 1962/3 court rulings represent the most powerful symbol of the disintegration of America's civil religion. Since then, many

fundamentalistic Christians have lamented those years as the turning point for American society. Daniel McQuire gives an account of one evangelist's interpretation of the rulings. He writes:

> Television evangelist James Robinson spelled out for Congress the "plagues" that descended upon our nation after the banning of prayer in schools by the Supreme Court in 1962-63. The Vietnam War accelerated; prominent leaders were assassinated; there followed "escalation of crime, disintegration of families, racial conflict, teenage pregnancies and venereal disease."[57]

For others, the Supreme Court rulings were the beginning of a conspiracy to undermine the fundamentals of faith. Jack Hyles, pastor of a large fundamentalist congregation in Indiana, sarcastically advises those parents who wish to "rear a bum." The first thing they should do, he says, is send the prospective bum to a public school, where "profane, immoral, and revolutionary books" are assigned and where "forces of communism and indecency are making their way into the hearts of American children via the school teacher."[58]

Secular Humanism

The name most commonly used for this conspiracy is "secular humanism" (sometimes Secular Humanism). The term has been defined in many ways, but it is typically described as the removal of God from society's institutions and the subsequent replacement of man at the center of all things.[59] In reality, secular humanism has come to represent almost anything in society disliked by these fundamentalistic Christians. It is much like the "modernism" that the fundamentalists of the 1920's fought so vigorously in their seminaries and denominations.

The ubiquity of secular humanism can be seen in the following description of its effects on public education:

IT IS: violent and disturbing films.

book after book dealing with parental conflict, death, drugs, rape, murder, suicide, mental illness, poverty, despair, teenage pregnancy, running away, anger, hurt.

mostly negative, rarely positive.

role playing.

sensitivity training--paring and sharing--learning through analysis of the children's own experiences, feelings, reactions, perceptions and behavior.

personal attitude surveys, questionnaires and evaluations which are used for modifying behavior.

passing over fact and content and dwelling on values and attitudes and uninformed opinion.

VALUES CLARIFICATION--programmed probing of a child's values, attitudes and beliefs.[60]

Also, parents are urged to ask their children such questions as these:

Are you sometimes asked to decide questions to which there are no good answers?
How often do you discuss your family life in school?
Do you study about the "interdependence of nations"?
Do you think our government should control industry?
Do your teachers ask you to make decisions about right and wrong?
Has your teacher ever told you your rights?
As a Christian, have you ever been made to feel different?[61]

If children answer yes to any of these questions, then their souls are in imminent danger from secular humanism, according to the literature here cited.

In all due respect, it should be noted that this source displays an exaggerated paranoia of secular humanism. This does not suggest, however, that secular humanism does not exist. Harvey Cox, himself no fundamentalist, warned of the dangers of Secularism as an ideology.[62] Also, James Carper wrote that the once dominant evangelical influences on American life have indeed been "superceded by the more secularistic Enlightenment theme."[63]

The Public School Curriculum

Though complaints about curriculum have covered everything from geography to geometry, the biggest controversies among fundamentalistic Christians have occurred in the teaching of evolution and sex education. Evolution is no newcomer to school controversies. It was perhaps the single most volatile issue during the controversies of the early twentieth century. One should remember that during that time a few states adopted anti-evolution laws. From the time of the 1920's, however, evolution was rarely raised as an issue by Christian school advocates until the mid-sixties. In fact, Gaebelein only mentioned evolution once and Schultz mentioned it not at all.[64] It seems that following the Scopes trial, most states, even those that did not pass anti-evolution laws, ceased the teaching of evolution theory; then in the mid-sixties evolution came up again in many public high school biology textbooks.

Apparently, many fundamentalistic Christians fear that the teaching of evolution will weaken faith in the truth of Scripture and will lead to a more humanistic view of man. This has often been seen as the cause of the lack of discipline and poor academics in public schools. The reasoning goes something like this: "The moral decay of our nation can be directly traced to the teachings of evolution. If man came from an animal, why not act like one!"[65]

Similar thinking can be found regarding sex education in public schools. Jerry Falwell writes, "It is no secret that the increase of an emphasis on sex education has paralleled the rise in teenage pregnancies."[66] Gary Clabaugh, a former public school teacher, has documented the work of the Radical Right against sex education in the late sixties and early seventies.[67] But even the more mainstream evangelicals of the

Associaton of Christian Schools International (ACSI) are deeply perplexed about what the public schools are doing to weaken the sex-related mores their children are taught at home.[68]

Relation of the Negative School Rationale to Views of Culture

It is almost superfluous to say that the negative school rationale described above is related to a separatist approach to culture. Indeed, the themes of separatism and disengagement abound in some of the Christian school organizations and publishing companies. Perhaps the best illustrations are in the separatistic dogma of A Beka Book publications. Centered in Pensacola, Florida, in the largest Christian school in the nation, A Beka Books represents the most extreme of the fundamentalist organizations involved in the Christian school movement. The founder and president of the organization is Arlin Horton, a graduate of Bob Jones University.[69]

The separatistic nature of the A Beka Books rhetoric can be seen in their attitudes about the nature of education. Reacting to Dewey's philosophy of education, they write:

> The basic purpose of education is to pass on to each new generation of young people the accumulated knowledge of the past. This has been the traditional view of education throughout the history of mankind. Therefore the basic purpose is not social change or the social adjustment of the child, as progressive educators have advocated for years.[70]

They see the purpose of education as the transmission of culture unchanged from generation to generation. Their strategy in preserving this culture is isolation. If they have any impact on society it will be unintended by them. This rationale is very similar to that of immigrant groups who want to educate their children in the language and customs of their Old World nationality. The difference is that these fundamentalistic Christians

want to set themselves up as fortresses within which are the last bastions of "Golden Age" Christianity. Such an attitude toward culture and their role in society can only be called separatism.

Unfortunately, these separatist attitudes have infected virtually all the rhetoric of the Christian school leaders. None of them have been above exploiting the alienation and paranoia of fundamentalist parents. Even the ACSI has tended to define itself more in terms of what it opposes than what it stands for in the way of Christian education. For example, in the statement of their Christian school philosophy, which will be examined shortly, the first chapter begins with a description of the trends in "modern secular education," and only after tearing apart public education does the writer procede to consider the "Christian philosophy of education."[71]

Yet, one should keep in mind that the rejection of secular education does not necessarily imply a separatistic approach to culture. This was true for the Kuyperian Calvinists and the neo-evangelicals, and it is also true for a growing number of today's Christian day school leaders. In the most recent example, it has been the negative aspects of the Christian school rationale described above that have propelled the movement toward the conversionist attitudes found today. These Christians see their recent alienation from America's mainstream not as a cause for separation, but as a cause for regaining what has been lost to secular humanism over the past several decades. They are convinced that cultural involvement--in politics, media, and education--is the necessary step in bringing America back to its Judeo-Christian roots.

Summary

So the Christian school rationale swung toward the negative during the mid-sixties when the extreme fundamentalists joined the movement in force. This move toward separatism in Christian schools can be seen as the second stage of the split pendulum phenomenon, the first stage being the tendency of the early neo-evangelicals to view culture with conversionist attitudes.

In many ways, the interaction and trends between the separatist and conversionist rationales are similar to that of the Seceders and the Kuyperian Calvinists within the Christian Reformed Church during the nineteenth century. Within the CRC, the anti-cultural Seceders established the first schools under the administration of the local churches. Then the Kuyperians established parent-controlled schools that eventually moved all the Calvinist day schools toward a conversionist rationale.

Among fundamentalistic Christians, though, the interaction from 1940 to about 1980 was reversed. The neo-evangelicals started the Christian school movement in a conversionist spirit with societies of parents running the schools. Then during the sixties, the more extreme fundamentalists joined the movement and influenced it toward parochialism and separatism.

But the story does not end here.

THE REAWAKENING OF THE CONVERSIONIST SCHOOL RATIONALE

Beginning around the late seventies, the Christian school community became self-conscious of its rhetoric. This is clearly seen in the words of Gene Garrick, writing for the Association of Christian Schools International:

> The Christian school is first an affirmation of the Biblical concept of education and then a protest of secular education. Because there is much to protest in our day of declining standards and materialistic philosophies, perhaps more has been heard about the protests than the affirmations. But careful listening will reveal the positives that underlie the negatives.[72]

This renewed emphasis on the "affirmations" of Christian education has come in the form of a more strongly conversionist Christian school rationale. Of course, this does not mean that no conversionist day schools were established during the philosophical "dark ages" of the sixties and seventies, for many did continue in the spirit of Gaebelein's school rationale. Nor does this mean that all of today's Christian schools are conversionist in their approach to culture, or even that those who are most conversionist do not express the negative reasons for the existence of their schools. What this means is that the separatists and the conversionists of the Christian school community are borrowing philosophies as they always have, but this time they are borrowing in such a way that the conversionists are making their voices heard more loudly than the separatists.

Perhaps the most important event related to this shift was the merging of several Christian school associations into the Association of Christian Schools International (ACSI) in 1978.[73] The ACSI appears to encompass two groups as its constituents. The first group is the right-wing evangelicals who descended from Mark Fakkema's conversionist National Association of Christian Schools. These evangelicals stand in the same tradition of Gaebelein's Christian school rationale. Indeed, the ACSI's philosophy of education draws heavily from Gaebelein's writings. The second group is the large number of open fundamentalists that have joined in supporting the ACSI.[74] The conversionist school rationale is relatively new to the

open fundamentalists, and their separatistic tendencies have taken their toll on the rhetoric of the ACSI. But overall, as was previously said, the conversionist elements of the ACSI Christian school rationale are growing in influence.

In particular, this merger has heightened the Christian school community's awareness of its potential strength and has led to increased activity and influence in politics. For example, in 1979, one year after the ACSI was formed, Jerry Falwell conducted his "I Love America" rallies on the lawns of the states' capitols. The express purpose of these rallies was to demonstrate the strength of the Christian school movement and to engender political support for the schools. By all accounts the rallies were a major success, and it seems to be more than mere coincidence that they were organized soon after the ACSI merger.

The section which follows will attempt to give evidence for the current strength of the conversionist school rationale. It will show that, by drawing from the writings of Gaebelein (and indirectly the CRC), the Christian school community is not trying to separate from culture altogether. If anything, their writings show them to be advocating a much greater degree of cultural engagement on the part of fundamentalistic Christians. The evidence presented in this section will rely primarily on the publications of the ACSI, though a variety of other sources will be examined. Then the paper will show that this renewed emphasis on the conversionist rationale coincides on a broader scale with the recent re-emergence of fundamentalistic Christians' involvement in politics and mass media. Set in this context, the implications of a strongly conversionist school rationale will be self-evident.

Association of Christian Schools International

The primary source for the ACSI Christian school rationale is found in The Philosophy of Christian School Education, published in 1980 (3rd edition). Edited by Paul Kienel, Executive Director of the ACSI, the book consists of eight chapters, each written by a different individual. In some ways it may be considered the updated equivalent to Gaebelein's book, though it does differ from Gaebelein's in several ways.

The Philosophy of Christian School Education begins much like Gaebelein's book--with talk about Christian day schools being God's instrument for changing the world. A foreword by David Hocking concludes, "If the Lord tarries His coming, it is our belief that Christian schools will continue to grow and influence the direction and course of this nation and even of the world!"[75] Hocking may have overstated the case, but he certainly does not advocate a complete separation from the world. Again, although a private religious school movement by its nature can be said to be separatistic, this school movement does not see separation from public schools and society as an end in itself. The end in mind is the ultimate transformation of the culture in which Christians live.

In the introduction of the book, Kienel states precisely the relationship between Christian education and society. The excerpt below is rather long, but it deserves a careful reading. Kienel says:

> The idea of Bible-centered education for the masses regardless of race or creed is a new idea come of age. The reason Christian education for the masses is a new idea is due in part to the fact that mass education has been identified with secular state-sponsored schools. In the past, religious institutions of learning have been geared to specific religious groups (e.g., Catholic and Adventist schools). They have been referred to as parochial schools. Today's Christian schools are not promoting a specific church, although many of them are sponsored by churches. True Christian schools are presenting Jesus Christ as Savior and Lord, and the Bible as the infallible point of reference for living. They are leaving the decision of church affiliation to be determined within the confines of the family. For the

> first time Christian education is in the hands of those whose primary motivation is the salvation and nurture of the individual student rather than the proselytizing of its patrons for a particular church or denomination. Therefore the Christian school represents a grass roots approach to presenting Jesus Christ to a world that needs Him desperately, and brings back a level of literacy and moral perspective that is vital to the survival of society. I honestly believe that Jesus Christ presented through the teaching ministry of Christian schools is the answer to the basic needs of our country and world.[76]

If a conversionist approach to culture is an attempt to transform culture, then a conversionist school rationale would attempt to change society's educational structure. Kienel's idea of Christian education for the masses is indeed a conversionist attitude; he believes it is working. He writes, "There is no question about it, Christian schools are making a measurable impact on society. The growth of Christian schools is the most significant sociological event of the past decade."[77]

Beyond this introduction, Kienel's book deals primarily with two broad themes. First, there can be no secular education, they argue, because to the Christian nothing is completely secular. Second, parents, not the state, are responsible for the education of their children. Both themes show a likeness to the philosophy of education enunciated by the Christian Reformed Church and Frank Gaebelein, and both have their ultimate source in Calvin's ideas about education. Yet, the first theme is more closely related to a conversionist approach to culture. Consequently, it will be examined here in greater detail.

The book's first chapter, written by David Hocking, describes "The Theological Basis for the Philosophy of Christian School Education." Hocking's main point is that, based on the universal sovereignty of God, no education can be truly secular. Educational decadence is assumed to be the inevitable consequence of dichotomizing the secular and sacred aspects of life. Hocking writes, "The Christian viewpoint must consider all truth

as God's truth; to a Christian there is no difference between the secular and the sacred, for all things are sacred."[78]

According to Gene Garrick and Kenneth Gangel, the principal educational objective of the Christian school is to "integrate" Christ into the entire curriculum and life of the school.[79] Garrick writes:

> It is vital to realize that integration does not mean point by point reconciliation of each discipline with Bible statements. . . . But integration means the uniting of parts into a whole. Therefore, integratin life and studies with the Bible means discovering their foundational relationship of unity as God's truth given for the purpose of revealing him. The purpose is to have the student see that all truth is God's truth and that it was given to enable us to know and please him. . . . The dichotomy between the sacred and the secular must be abolished if our students are to live all of life for God's glory.[80]

The doctrine of universalism is related to Gangel's call for "the development of a Christian world and life view" where there is "no dichotomy between the sacred and secular for the thinking Christian."[81] One writer states that by teaching children to glorify God in all their work, "the dichotomy of 'secular' and 'sacred' is thus broken down and the Christian mind is accordingly formed." Again, "Each school must study how it will foster Biblical attitudes toward material things and encourage students to use them for God's glory."[82] Indeed, the rejection of the dualistic world view in educational philosophy almost sounds like a broken record. Though it would be possible to provide more examples of this rejection in each of the various writers' chapters, it would be oppressively redundant to do so.[83]

Yet, Gangel's chapter deserves special attention because it deals most seriously with the cultural problem, and it is here that the Christian school movement draws its ideas from a conversionist heritage. Gangel bases his thought on the work of J. Gresham Machen, particularly Machen's address to Princeton Seminary in 1912. Gangel calls the address "one of

the great classics" of the "integration of faith and learning," or the relation of "Christianity and culture." In Gangel's mind, Christian education since Machen's day has been an attempt to carry out Machen's conversionist approach to education and culture. He writes, "More than six decades later Christian educators are still attempting to practice what Machen said in that hour."[84]

At one point in the chapter, Gangel summarizes what Machen said in 1912: "Machen calls for us to bring culture and Christianity into close union without feeling that culture will destroy Christianity."[85] This of itself shows the ACSI's rejection of the separatist's point of view (that there can be no Christian contact with culture for fear of the loss of Christian identity). Instead of the separatist's view, the ACSI repeats Calvin's theme, that Christ is Lord over all of life and that all cultural activities are acceptable when done for the glorification of God.

The second theme of parental responsibility in education reflects more of Calvin's influence through the CRC and Gaebelein than it does any particularly conversionist motif. Yet it does show, indirectly at least, the conversionist tendencies of the Christian day school movement. The book also shows how the administrative pattern, which is based on these ideas about parental responsibility, has evolved since 1951 when Gaebelein wrote his book. Gaebelein sought to build schools on the pattern established by the CRC. These schools were non-denominational and non-parochial, with parents and concerned laypersons from various churches joining together to administrate the school through a Christian school society.[86]

Today's Christian schools, though, have discarded the call for a particular form of administration but have retained the theme of parental responsibility in education. Kienel's introduction to his book is indicative of the shift. There he refers to the issue of school sponsorship

without advocating parent-sponsored schools. Yet throughout the book, each writer reiterates the need for parents to wake up to their educational responsibilities.[87] The Christian school community believes the future of Christian schooling depends on parents, and to them the community addresses its call.

Several other themes present in Gaebelein's book are absent in this more recent one. First, Kienel's book does not address social concerns as Gaebelein's did. This is due more to differences of purpose than to a complete lack of social concern on the ACSI's part, but it does indicate that the more recent schools are more concerned about their immediate school community than the pressing needs of society. Again, this probably reflects the increased fundamentalist involvement and the emphasis on the negative rationale for Christian day schools prevalent in the sixties and seventies. Second, The Philosophy of Christian School Education is more practical and less theoretical than Gaebelein's Christian Education in a Democracy. Third, Kienel's book does not deal with the schools' relationship to state schools, that is, not outside of their reaction to state schools. Gaebelein, on the other hand, developed the theme of Christian schools being an "elder brother" and "salt" to the public schools. Finally, Kienel never considers how the issue of church/state separation is related to the Christian school movement, while this issue occupied much of Gaebelein's attention. Overall, the primary difference between the two books lies in Kienel's lesser appreciation of the Christian school community's social and cultural setting.

This will probably soon change; in some areas it already has. In the monthly bulletin published by the ACSI, Kienel indicates that the Christian school movement must in the future depend more on its unique Chris-

tian witness to draw children to its schools. As the public schools "get back to the basics" and as the possibility of prayer in public schools seems ever closer, Kienel and his colleagues will inevitably emphasize more of the positive conversionist reasons for Christian day schools.[88]

American Association of Christian Schools

The monthly bulletin of the American Association of Christian Schools (AACS) also shows evidence of an increasingly conversionist approach to culture and education. The AACS is approximately one-half the size of the ACSI, and the constituent schools of the AACS are more separatistic than the ACSI.[89] Founded in 1972, the AACS has drawn most of its members from the fundamentalist end of the conservative Protestant continuum (see Appendix I).

The AACS, like the ACSI, has responded to the "back to basics" movement in public schools by emphasizing the positive reasons for sending children to Christian day schools. In a bulletin dealing with public education's "back to basics" movement, one writer for the AACS concludes by saying,

> The strength, beauty, and power of our Christian schools, as well as their reason for existence, are all rooted firmly in the Christian faith, which must permeate the entire educational program.[90]

This rhetoric about the Christian faith "permeating" education is very similar to that of Gangel's chapter for the ACSI on the integration of faith and learning and to the conversionist educational philosophy of the Calvinist day schools. Such an emphasis on permeation and integration should be interpreted as rooted in the doctrine of the universal sovereignty of God.

The clearest of the AACS's calls for cultural engagement comes in a

recent issue of the Christian School Communicator (1984), written by Gerald B. Carlson, Executive Director of the AACS.

> Unfortunately humanistic values have replaced Biblical values as the guiding principles for establishing social and political beliefs in our nation. This is a sad commentary on our times, but nevertheless it is a fact which must be faced at present. As Bible believers we must be active in our churches, Christian schools and homes to aggressively challenge secular humanism so that Biblical values can once again become the predominating force to forge social and political ideas in our republic.[91]

The precise strategy Carlson recommends is threefold. First, write "letters to the editor" to local newspapers to publicize Christian views. Second, write congressmen and local legislators about Christian concerns. Third, "become active in your community" to spread the Christian vision for America.[92] Obviously, Carlson is not calling for separation from society. For him, Christians belong in culture, forging its most influential political and social ideas.

Unfortunately, the AACS is not as prolific a publisher of its Christian school rationale as the ACSI is. Perhaps if the AACS were more productive then even more evidence could be found regarding the borrowing of a conversionist philosophy from the more mainstream ACSI. At any rate, the writings of several individuals not directly associated with a Christian school association give ample evidence of the growing conversionist school rationale.

Joseph Bayly

Joseph Bayly sent his first child to a Christian day school in 1950, when the movement was in its early stages. He continues to write about his decision to educate his children in Christian schools. Writing for Christianity Today, he notes, "Our decision to enter our child in a Christian school was the first time in our lives, I believe, that we admitted

the United States was not a Christian nation."[93] His statement reflects the alienation felt by many fundamentalistic Christians who have joined the Christian school movement.

Bayly rejects the thought of some Christian writers who say that Christians should keep their children in public schools in order that they might have a transforming effect on public education. Yet, Bayly does not reject the need for the conversion of the public schools. He simply says that parents cannot expect their children to be missionaries to America's secular schools. The schools will inevitably affect the children more than the children will change the school. Instead of public education, Bayly says parents should educate their children in Christian schools where they can develop a Christian world and life view. Only then can they be effective in transforming a nation that has turned away from God.[94]

This is a classic statement of what I have called the strategic nature of the Christian school community's separation from the public schools. In certain respects it is similar to the rationale for many denominational colleges. For example, Southern Baptists have established private colleges and universities for their ministers and laypersons. They would think it ludicrous to send all their young ministers to state colleges for training in Christian ministry. Very few critics would see in this practice a disengagement from society. First, the unique character of Christian ministry requires a private educational institution. Second, the private education does not have as its purpose the separation of the minister from societal life. Instead it is a preparation <u>for</u> societal life.

In this same way, Bayly defends himself against those who would accuse the Christian school movement of possessing an Amish-like mentality. He

believes the unique character of the Christian world view makes a complete elementary and secondary educational system necessary for Christians. By temporarily protecting children from unhealthy influences, children are successfully prepared to combat those influences as adults. Otherwise, Christian children will have little sense of their Christian identity and their Christian work in society will be ineffective.

George Ballweg

George Ballweg is a Christian educator who views Christian day schools as an appropriate response to God's command for cultural engagement. This was seen earlier regarding the origins of Christian education. It was then noted that Ballweg considers the Christian school community to be "a reemergence of a spiritual awareness of God's cultural mandate, which, for over a century, has lain dormant in the thinking of the Christian community."[95] Ballweg has obviously observed the trends among fundamentalistic Christians described in this paper toward disengagement from culture, and he believes the Christian school movement represents a broad-scale reversal of this trend, not the continuation of it.

Moreover, Ballweg notes that the "initial interest" of most parents involved in the Christian school movement emerged as a negative reaction to pubic school programs and environment.[96] But what may have begun as a response to integration and other public school traumas has now "been converted into a nation-wide 'ground-swell' in its influence, making its voice heard more and more clearly at the local, state, and national levels of political power."[97] Ballweg has given clear evidence that some members of the Christian school community desire to rid themselves of the bad name they earned over the sixties and seventies as escapist havens and

and segregation academies. At the same time, he indicates his belief that the Christian school movement has recently moved in a different direction, away from separation from society and toward influence on it.

Finally, in Ballweg's summary of the unique attributes of the Christian school (in contrast to the attributes of the public schools), he repeats two of the most common motifs of the conversionist school literature. First, he writes, Christian schools have a clearly established source of authority--Jesus Christ. Second, Christian schools deny that the world of reality is comprised of a religious/secular dichotomy.[98]

John W. Whitehead

John W. Whitehead is a lawyer involved in a number of legal battles related to Christian day schools. He believes Christian day schools "are vitally important for America's future." He quotes his colleague D. James Kennedy as saying, "If there is any hope for a Christian future in the United States, it will come from those who now sit under the guidance of those who administer our Christian schools."[99] According to Whitehead, Christian schools are a significant part of fulfilling the Great Commission to "teach them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you."[100] Whitehead also stresses the importance of God's Genesis 1:26-28 directives to exercise dominion over His creation. "This is the cultural mandate given to mankind. It means externalizing the faith and acting upon the culture."[101] Based on the Genesis passage, Whitehead says the family is responsible for giving a child an education that will lead him to carry out his cultural mandate. Such an education, he implies, can only come from Christian schools.[102] Like most involved in the Christian school movement, he rejects the dualistic world view. He writes:

> We must remember that the Bible makes no distinction between the secular and the religious. . . . The Bible sees man and his institutions in their totality as religious.[103]

Whitehead blames the strength of secular humanism on the failure of Christians to recognize God's universal sovereignty over cultural institutions. The reader should examine carefully the following excerpts from Whitehead's booklet to see how he relates his call for Christian engagement in culture to the doctrine of universalism. Also note his judgments about the past century's trend away from Christian involvement in culture.

> The Christian base that once undergirded the culture and society has been slowly eradicated because the church has refused to accept Christs lordship and sovereignty over all aspects of life.
>
> In fact, the church through its acceptance of a false pietism has opened the way to the modern state's claim to sovereignty. In its pietistic retreat the church, instead of exercising the cultural mandate (Gen. 1:26-28), has assumed a false holiness.
>
> To limit God's sovereignty to the church and its activities or to the "private" morality of men is to deny Christ's lordship. . . .
>
> Christians are not to leave the world but to conquer it. . . .[104]

Whitehead closes his booklet with a call to Christian involvement in politics, viewing this as an important part of manifesting God's sovereignty.[105]

Undoubtedly, John W. Whitehead's writings are the best present-day demonstration of how Christian day schools fit into a conversionist approach to culture. As the quotes above show, Whitehead is aware of the political/religious setting of today's Christian schools, and he uses his awareness to call conservative Christians to increased involvement in culture.

In summary, the trend toward a conversionist school rationale is undeniable. Christian schools are approaching their educational task with strong convictions that God is universally sovereign and that Christian schools can play a part in realizing God's sovereignty over every aspect

of life. These convictions are part of a growing conversionist rhetoric among fundamentalistic Christians in fields other than education. In other words, this shift toward conversion is not limited to the Christian day school movement, but it is occurring simultaneously in the ideas and activities of many prominent spokespersons for conservative Christianity. This broader context for the conversionist motif is the topic of discussion for the final section of the study.

THE GROWING INFLUENCE OF THE CONVERSIONIST MOTIF

As the Christian school movement grew to its present crescendo, something started stirring in the private faith of fundamentalistic Christians. Those who had disdained religious activism in the sixties were suddenly telling the faithful to organize marches, write congressmen and run for political office. This was all part of what preachers called "relating the gospel to every area of life."

This return of the conversionist motif can justifiably be called another "Great Reversal" on the part of fundamentalistic Christians, only this time the reversal is toward re-engagement with culture. The shift is relatively young, most visibly dated with the organization of the Moral Majority in 1979. Only time will prove its permanence, but this much is certain: today's widespread reawakening of right-wing Christian engagement with culture has captured the attention of the national media and politicians at every level of government.

This final section of the paper will first examine several of the doctrinal foundations for the recent re-engagement with culture. Second, it will look at a couple of the cultural implications of the doctrinal emphases. Finally, the paper will briefly examine the most salient example of

the recent reversal: Jerry Falwell. The reason for this last section is simple--it places the Christian school movement within the context of this recent revival of conversionist ideas, thereby reinforcing this paper's thesis that the modern Christian school movement is founded on a conversionist rationale.

Doctrinal Foundations

One doctrinal foundation for the growing conversionist rhetoric is the rejection of pietism. Actually, it is not a rejection of the pieties of soul-winning, prayer and Bible study. It is a rejection of the notion that these activities constitute the totality of what is religious in a Christian's life. Some indication of this rejection of "false" pietism was seen earlier in quotes of John W. Whitehead's writings.

It appears that the most influential propagator of this doctrinal foundation was Francis Schaeffer, the now-deceased founder of Switzerland's L'Abri Fellowship. There is no doubt that Jerry Falwell, John Whitehead, D. James Kennedy, and various writers for the Association of Christian Schools International have depended on Francis Schaeffer for ideas about the relationship between Christianity and culture.[106]

Schaeffer and his son Franky accuse pietism of possessing a Platonic view of reality in which the material and spiritual worlds are sharply divided with little or no importance given to the material world.[107] By rejecting pietism's view of reality, the Schaeffers unequivocably reject the dualist's approach to culture. They also blame society's problems on the unwillingness of Christians over the past several decades to become involved influencing American culture for the good. Franky Schaeffer writes:

> Unfortunately, the activist and robust understanding of Christianity and the practice of Judeo-Christian truth held by the Founding Fathers grew weak and weak-kneed in later generations. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, a wave of pietism arose within the church, and the pietists looked away from their responsibilities in the world and cultivated "spiritual feelings." They mistook true spirituality for narcissism.
>
> As a result, Christians increasingly withdrew from participating on the basis of their faith in political, legal, artistic, cultural, and educational matters--in fact, the Christian witness failed to address himself to any subject apart from conversion and life (if it can be called that) within the church. Pietism, then as now, made Christianity comfortable by making it unreal.
>
> In the vacuum created by the retreat of the church, inhuman and pagan ideas were revived. These were especially destructive in the areas of government, law, the arts, and politics.[108]

Going deeper than rejecting pietism, Francis Schaeffer and D. James Kennedy enunciate the second doctrinal foundation: emphasis on the universal sovereignty of God. Francis Schaeffer wrote:

> True spirituality covers all of reality. There are things the Bible tells us as absolutes which are sinful--which do not conform to the character of God. But aside from these the Lordship of Christ covers all of life and all of life equally. It is not only that true spirituality covers all of life, but it covers all parts of the spectrum equally. In this sense there is nothing concerning reality that is not spiritual.[109]

Schaeffer's words should have a familiar ring to them by now, for they were found often in the Christian school rationale. In Christian schools his words mean that religion and the Bible are not segregated from the teachings of the other courses. Instead, they are "integrated" in such a way that Christ "permeates" the entire curriculum. Schaeffer's ideas about Christianity as a totality of life led him to call Christians to action in government, law, education, media and the arts. Only then, he believed, can Christians change the course of history and usher in the kingdom of God.

D. James Kennedy, the popular Presbyterian pastor, also emphasizes the doctrine of universalism. In an interview reported in Christian Life, he says the church has a "cultural mandate" to "apply the Word of God to

every sphere of life, that all creation might be perfected to the glory of God."[110] Again, he says, "I think Christians should realize they are supposed to be the salt of the earth and not remain in the saltshaker. We are to influence society wherever we are. We need Christians to apply Biblical teachings to every area of life."[111]

The final doctrinal foundation constitues not so much a change in doctrine as a shift in emphasis. It was noted earlier that premillenial eschatologies tend to be related to a dualist or separatist approach to culture. By saying the world will inevitably become worse and worse, premillenialism has strongly discouraged cultural engagement as ultimately futile. The widespread adoption of premillenialism was an important factor in the first "Great Reversal" away from social concerns. Today, now that many fundamentalistic Christians are re-engaging in culture, they are finding that their cultural pursuits may be seen as in conflict with premillenialism.

Consequently, these fundamentalistic Christians are ceasing to use their premillenialism as a rationale for separating from culture. One should note that virtually all fundamentalists still consider premillenialism to be an important test of orthodoxy, but many of them are no longer allowing the doctrine to prevent them from engaging in society. Speaking before a fundamentalist conference, Jerry Falwell illustrates this tension between premillenialism and cultural engagement:

> I believe this is the decade of the fundamentalist. I am optimistic about America, not because I am not a believer in the premillenial, pretribulational coming of Christ for all of His church, I do believe that. I believe He could come at any moment--but, while I believe that, I am planning and working as though I had another twenty-five years. . . . Let's not be confused over what the Lord was saying. The church is not on the defense. We are on the offense. For two thousand years we have been invading his territory.[112]

Falwell's optimism about America seems almost paradoxical considering his strong belief in premillenialism. Perhaps many of the Christians who are adopting a conversionist approach to culture are reinterpreting their premillenial beliefs just as Falwell has. At any rate, a lessened emphasis on the pessimism in premillenial eschatologies may constitute part of the doctrinal foundations for cultural engagement.

Cultural Implications

One of the most important cultural areas affected by the growing conversionist motif is politics and interpretations of the separation of church and state. Only within the past eight years have right-wing religious activist groups proliferated. Several examples are Moral Majority, Religious Roundtable, and Coalition for Better Television. One of the most interesting of these groups is Christian Voice, a Washington-based activist organization. It is best-known for its "Report Card" on how members of Congress vote on moral issues.

"Colonel" V. Doner, co-founder of Christian Voice, says he would like to lead America back to the Christian nation it once was. His method is simple:

> God has bestowed upon us a government that Christians could control. Up until 50 years ago we did a pretty good job. Our laws were based on the Bible. The government encouraged belief in God. The Church prospered, and so did America.
>
> Sixty million evangelicals easily can control--through the ballot box and through active participation--who runs for government, just as our forefathers successfully did for the first several hundred years of our history.[113]

As for the humanists, Doner advocates no pietistic strategy in eliminating them. He says, "If we are to deal with them we must deal with them through the political system." Not to do so, he says, would be sin.[114] This is a complete turnaround from the tendency of Christians before him

who said it would be sin to take time away from soul-winning to fight people politically. Doner knows he is advocating change in the way Christians approach culture, but he believes the nation's present condition warrants drastic action.

In the same Christian Life article quoted earlier, D. James Kennedy uses his emphasis on God's universal sovereignty to reinterpret the relationship between church and state. He rejects the "high wall of separation" interpretations of the Supreme Court in the past several decades. Instead, he calls for something closer to the interpretations of Isaac Backus discussed earlier in this paper.

Kennedy insists that the founders of this country never intended this government to be neutral in matters of religion. He believes they planned for government to reflect the fact that this is a Christian nation. This Florida pastor says:

> Legislation is built on morality and morality is built on religion. For 200 years, Christianity is the religion on which the country's morals and legislation were founded. . . . All legislation is based on morality. If you can't legislate morality, what can you legislate?

A second broad cultural area affected by the growing conversionist motif is media and the arts. Franky Schaeffer is particularly vocal about these fields. He writes:

> Each of us can be involved in the arts and media. If we are artists, writers, or creative persons with professional talent in one of the artistic fields, we must reaffirm the idea that art needs no justification; that we have a creative and good heavenly Father who has given us the arts, and indeed all human expression, as something right and proper in themselves.[116]

This is indeed a perfect example of the conversionist approach to the arts.[117] Art, though it has the potential for corruption, is good because its source is God, and it is to be used to glorify Him.[118]

As for the media, Franky Schaeffer asks Christians to become "inveterate writers of letters to the editor." Writers should aim to do more than publish works for evangelical magazines and tracts. They should aim to be the editor of The New Times, for example. For those who have the money, Schaeffer advises them to buy newspapers, television and radio stations. He believes no Christian can claim to have compassion for society and not be involved trying to change it.[119]

A Salient Example: Jerry Falwell

Jerry Falwell is unquestionably the most prominent spokesperson for the New Right in America. When people talk about conservative Christians and politics, they talk about Falwell. Any person unfamiliar with his name must have lived in seclusion since 1979. One might expect that history books years from now will refer to him and the movement he represents in adjectival form, as Falwellian, just as we remember Senator McCarthy through McCarthyism. Because of Falwell's salience, this paper draws to a close with an examination of his attitudes on culture, particularly how they have changed since the sixties. It will also look at his involvement in the Christian day school movement.

Falwell is perhaps the most typical example of what this paper has called the recent "Great Reversal" of conservative Christian attitudes toward culture. In the sixties, he rarely spoke out on any political issue, be it communism, presidential elections, or civil rights. He considered silence on social issues to be almost a test of orthodoxy for pastors. In fact, on the very same day of the famous 1965 Selma March, he preached a sermon criticizing pastors who took time out of their pulpit to make political statements. For him and many fundamentalistic Christians

like him at the time, politics were considered the art of compromise, and since God is not in the compromising business, Christians should not be politically active beyond the basic requirements for citizenship. Aside from that, soul-winning was thought to be the single need of the day, and any political effort would draw precious energy from missionary efforts. Preaching the gospel was too much a priority for churches to risk conflict and dissension over political issues.[120]

Gradually, however, Supreme Court decisions and other liberal government actions led Falwell to believe that political and social activism are inescapable for the Christian. Falwell said in an interview with Eternity, "So step by step we became convinced we must get involved if we're going to continue what we're doing inside the church building."[121] At this point, Falwell's rhetoric appears to be somewhat dualistic. First, he engages in culture not because he truly wants to or feels it is the realm in which God does his work, but because he feels forced to. As Marty writes, Falwell's involvement in politics centers on issues related to private morals--homosexuality, abortion, divorce. Falwell is making political speeches because he feels the government has interfered with his efforts in the area of private Christianity, an area most important to dualists and separatists.[122]

Yet, it has become increasingly apparent that Falwell is trying to do more than simply protect his right to do what he had been doing "in the church building." Falwell is concerned with far more than the right to exercise his private morality; his political activites cover much more than the promotion of the nation's personal piety. The clearest example of this is his recent establishment of an umbrella organization, called

the Liberty Federation, for the development of a stronger voice on issues that are not "strictly moral," like abortion and homosexuality. This larger organization he hopes to use in speaking on issues such as national defense, support for Nicaragua's "freedom fighters," and the elimination of sanctions against the South African government. In this way, he is adding structure to his conversionist efforts in politics.

At any rate, Falwell's rhetoric about culture is dominated by the desire to restore the religious dimension to government, a dimension that grew out of the Awakenings but faltered in this century. Just like William J. Bryan in the 1920's, Falwell sees America's Judeo-Christian foundations crumbling about him. His is the rhetoric of the civil religion, and the attempt to restore the disintegrating civil religion is his central motive for political engagement. The following are excerpts from Falwell's "I Love America" rallies in 1979.

> The tragedy is that a small minority has found its way into leadership of the media, government, and education, while we sat back and decided that politics is dirty business, religion and politics don't mix. Somebody told us that a generation ago and didn't quote to us the book, chapter, and verse. And they said, "You fellas run your churches and we'll run government." And they have, right in the ground. I say the time has come when every Christian needs to become a good citizen. . . . And I believe it is wrong for a Christian not to be involved in the political process.[123]

> Become a part of the political process, find out which party you believe closest with and get into it. Get into the caucuses, into the massed rallies. Become delegates. Learn how it's done, not this year, not next year, but for the rest of your life. . . . We need to be a part of it, make our influence felt, and we need to be there to say our peace every time so that God is represented. . . . I want to tell you that if we do that, America can be turned around.[124]

> I do want to say to you that while our founding fathers did advocate the separation of church and state, they did not advocate the separation of God and state. What this country needs is an infusion of Biblical morality that will . . . make it easier for government to do right than to do wrong.[125]

It should come as no surprise that Falwell has not been silent on the importance of Christian day schools. Throughout his speeches and writings on education one can easily see his adoption of a moderately conversionist approach to culture. In fact, he is one of the open fundamentalists involved in the ACSI who has been influential in provoking the greater influence of the conversionist school rationale. As already noted, the ACSI was formed in 1978, and in 1979, Falwell began his first significant nation-wide political campaign--the "I Love America" rallies. Their express purpose was to bring the power of the Christian school movement to influence local, state and national governments. At the rally in Kentucky Falwell says:

> The Christian school movement is the fastest growing religious movement in the nation and I think it's the American phenomenon that can change the course of American history in the next decade. . . . We believe that in the next ten years, this is that phenomenon that can change American history, bring us back to that foundation stone, back to the faith of our fathers, back to the pinacle of greatness that America once knew and we believe will know again--we're optimistic.[126]

Falwell speaks often of the Christian day school movement in his book, The Fundamentalist Phenomenon. Each time he does, he couples his mention of the movement with words and phrases such as "extensive impact," "future," and "leadership."[127] According to one of his recent sermons, he hopes to build five thousand new day schools, with a thousand students in each, by the end of this century. He asks his congregation to contemplate what "five million boys and girls" trained in Christian schools could do to "bring America back to God."[128]

Jerry Falwell has indeed placed his faith in the Christian school movement. He believes that it more than anything else has the potential to transform this nation, to bring back the "Golden Age," when govern-

ment believed in God and fundamental Christians were not marginal Americans. The future of this society depends on it. But what <u>really is</u> the future of the Christian school movement? Can it ever live up to Falwell's hopes and expectations? Does the survival of fundamental Christianity truly depend on it? Up until now, this paper has dealt with the history and present-day state of the Christian school rationale, thus avoiding the pitfalls of talking about the future. Now it will venture several forecasts in what can only be called a tentative conclusion.

A TENTATIVE CONCLUSION

At the beginning of this paper I stated that the Christian school movement deserves an interpretation of its rationale. The pages that followed were an attempt to expose the conversionist aspects of that rationale. By using Niebuhr's analytical and descriptive terms, this paper has added a unique dimension to the study of the Christian school movement. To my knowledge, no other researcher has analyzed Christian schools in the manner that this paper does. Nor has anyone else placed the schools in the context of orthodox Protestantism's historical approaches to culture. It is my hope that the methods and conclusions of this paper will be used to interpret any future developments in the rationale of the Christian school movement.

Based on the historical insights afforded by this research, two general scenarios might be constructed on the prospects for the Christian school movement. In the first scenario, one might hypothesize the continued success of the Religious Right in capturing the national media's spotlight. Ronald Reagan appoints several young Supreme Court justices before he leaves office, only to be succeeded by George Bush, Jerry Falwell's pick for President in 1988. Republicans maintain control of the Senate; "anti-abortion, pro-family, pro-moral" candidates run in political elections and win with increasing frequency. Christian school parents receive some form of financial break from the government for paying private school tuition.

In such an atmosphere of conquest and victory, where the Religious Right shows itself to be more than just another of many special interest groups to be contended with, one might expect Christian day schools to

swing the pendulum more and more consistently toward a conversionist school rationale. Drawing on the satisfactions afforded from the public successes, the day schools would remain optimistic about their role in transforming society. They would continue striving to defeat secular humanism and reinstate evangelical Protestantism as the dominant force in American culture.

In the second scenario, this recent gust of political and cultural conservatism dies down and increased public activity starts coming from the left again. The left re-organizes as they did in the sixties to control the political agenda into the next century. The liberal backlash, as one might call it, succeeds in popularizing its cause just as the fundamentalistic Christians popularized their cause in the late seventies. They ridicule the Religious Right in much the same way that H. L. Menken embarrassed the fundamentalists of the late-twenties, so that eventually a worn and torn evangelicalism removes itself from an alien and hostile culture.

In such a mood of national failure, one might expect the fundamentalistic Christians to eventually give up on transforming society. They would return to the underground, pietistic, sub-cultural efforts of their ancestors, the early fundamentalists, who separated from culture after their last big flurry of activism in the twenties. Christian schools would re-emphasize the negative rationale for their existence. They would increasingly forsake political involvement, turning their energies instead to maintaining the purity of God's elect Church. Eventually, Christian schools would portray themselves as exclusively separatist academies, as lifeboats in a shipwrecked society. They would not train a spiritual army to conquer the world; instead they would train a paranoid battalion

in the methods of retreat from the world's sinful advances.

I suspect that something closer to the second scenario will eventually occur. The historical experiments with moderate separatism beginning in the twenties are too recent for fundamentalistic Christians to escape altogether. Also, the dispensational eschatologies are an ever-present temptation to be used as explanations for failure, not to mention their constraining effect on cultural engagement. Cultural pluralism will ultimately withstand the conversionist efforts of fundamentalistic Christians, and when it does, Falwell and others will go back to building super-churches, Bible institutes and bus ministries.

Indeed, the Christian school strategy for conversion may altogether backfire on those who wish to return America to its "Judeo-Christian foundations." Christian schools may ultimately harm their cause more than they will help it. Christian isolation, even as a means to an end, often results in a loss of relevance to the present world. Christian children who are educated in the thought paradigm of the nineteenth century cannot be expected to change today's society--particularly if the agenda for change is a nineteenth century agenda. The Christian school witness will probably never reach more than those children whose parents already share the school's particular theology. Such a witness can only result in a static, stale, irrelevant Christianity. Yet, Christian schools will continue to exist, but will they remain as vestiges of an escapist brand of Christianity, or as true propagators of a culturally transforming gospel? That is the question the Christian school community must ask itself.

One constructive trend may occur as a result of the Christian school movement. If the movement continues to grow, it will inevitably force the

entire Christian community (liberals and conservatives alike) to re-evaluate the role of the Church in modern elementary and secondary education. These questions and many others should be considered:

What measures, if any at all, can the Church rightfully take to exercise its influence in public education?

Are private Christian schools an effective strategy, or even a necessary strategy, for counteracting the trends toward secularism in modern society?

And, more broadly, what is the role of the Church in a pluralistic, religiously diverse culture?

A consideration of these questions will mean nothing less than a re-assessment of Christian attitudes toward culture. It is my hope that we exercise the utmost wisdom and maturity in relating the gospel to an ever-changing world.

APPENDIX I

One of the greatest difficulties in writing a paper such as this one is the problem of definitions. No less a scholar than Oxford professor James Barr writes that some movements are impossible to define. Social and religious groups like evangelicals and fundamentalists simply defy definition.[1] The best one can do is present general, extended descriptions and hope the writer and the reader stand on at least some common ground of understanding.

Probably the most helpful interpretation on this problem is that of Richard Quebedeaux in The Young Evangelicals.[2] He has constructed a social typology of four sub-groups within orthodox Protestantism. Like all typologies, his falls short because the parameters among the four groups tend to be somewhat arbitrarily and hazily drawn.[3] Nonetheless, Quebedeaux does provide many insights into the world of fundamentalistic Christians, and the following description of the four sub-groups should further aid the reader in understanding the constituents of the Christian day school movement.

Separatist Fundamentalists

By far the most conservative of the four groups, the separatist fundamentalists are the direct ideological descendants of the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversies of the 1920's. Following that war with liberalism, they encouraged absolute and total withdrawal from the liberal denominations. Their mark is separation and they wear that mark proudly. Their watchwords are "compromise" and "apostasy."[4] Separatist fundamentalists believe the inerrancy of Scripture in every respect. Premillenial

and dispensational eschatologies are the unvarying norm.

Because of their separatist viewpoint, these extremists have had very little impact on mainstream American society. Their belief that the world is growing irrevocably more evil each day tends to stifle any social ethic or public involvement. When they have spoken on public issues, it has been in support of the status quo and excessive militarism (against the godless communists). The best-known representatives of separatist fundamentalism are Billy J. Hargis, Carl McIntire and Bob Jones University.

Open Fundamentalists

The open fundamentalists are characterized by their less extreme emphasis on separation than the separatist fundamentalists. Yet, open fundamentalists still hold to such beliefs as dispensationalism and scriptural literalism. They are represented by Hal Lindsey, Jerry Falwell, Dallas Theological Seminary and Moody Bible Institute.

Open fundamentalists have tended to approach culture dualistically, often separating the religious from the political and social spheres of life. Recently, however, some of them have started advocating increased Christian engagement with culture.

Establishment Evangelicals

Establishment evangelicals are the members and ideological descendants of the sub-group that broke from fundamentalism in the 1940's to protest fundamentalism's excesses. In their doctrinal beliefs, establishment evangelicals affirm the inspiration and authority of Scripture, but they are not necessarily Biblical literalists. Nor do they all profess a dispensationalist eschatology. Quebedeaux summarizes their social attitudes thus:

> In their social and cultural attitudes more generally, center and right evangelicals affirm the Protestant work ethic, demand hard work of all who are able (including themselves), exalt the nuclear family and traditional male and female roles in church and society, look askance at the permissive society, and are very moderate (or abstainers) when it comes to worldly behavior that evangelicals once almost uniformly denounced--drinking, dancing, attendance at the theater and cinema, and the like.[5]

Establishment evangelicals are represented by their own multi-denominational organization, the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) and its many branches and activities. Many denominations not directly connected to the NAE are representative nonetheless. Several of these denominations are the Missouri Lutheran Synod, the Church of the Nazarene, and the Southern Baptist Convention. Their principal spokesmen have been Billy Graham and Carl F. H. Henry. The magazine Christianity Today has been an important outlet for establishment evangelicals. Academically, they are represented by Wheaton College, Asbury Seminary, Gordon-Conwell Seminary, and, up until recently, Fuller Seminary.

The Young Evangelicals

In the past several years, Fuller has come to be the intellectual center for the final sub-group, the Young Evangelicals. They are on the left side of the orthodox continuum, and though they maintain most of the basic Christian beliefs about Jesus Christ and the Bible, they have made a number of concessions to modern Biblical criticism. They have brought fresh interest to the social dimensions of the gospel and reopened dialogue with mainstream Ecumenical Liberalism.

Quebedeaux calls them "young" evangelicals because the most prominent members of the group are indeed young. They know of the early twentieth century Fundamentalist-Modernist conflicts only through history books.

As a result, they refuse to be confined to Christianity's fundamentalist/liberal bifurcation, hoping instead to bridge the gaping chasm between the two.

No evidence suggests that the young evangelicals are involved in the Christian day school movement. The three other groups appear to be quite active in the movement, however, with the schools of the open fundamentalists and establishment evangelicals growing most rapidly. The separatist fundamentalists are so few in number that they could never be responsible for the majority of the Christian school movement's growth.

APPENDIX II

This appendix is a necessary elaboration of the typical approaches to culture as described by Niebuhr in Christ and Culture.[1] According to him, the five general theories on the relationship between Christianity and culture are: separation, acculturation, synthesis, dualism, and conversion. Of these five, separation, dualism and conversion are most important to this paper; acculturation is related to the approach called "civil religion."

Separation

First, Niebuhr described the radicals, or separatists, as those who believe Christ is in opposition to culture. They limit God's sovereignty to the "true Church" and consider every part of the world outside of this restricted Church to be evil. Most political and social endeavors are to be shunned as "worldly." The sciences, philosophy, art and literature are all so stained with sin that they, too, are to be avoided. This position may be seen in some separatist fundamentalists who carry their premillenial beliefs to an extreme. Since the world will only grow worse, the true aim of the Christian life, they believe, is to separate from the world and remain pure in preparing for the Lord's return.

Dualism

The "dualists" believe that Christ and culture exist in a paradox. Unlike the separatists, they realize that culture is inescapable, yet they tend to distinguish those aspects of a Christian's life that are cultural from those that are religious. In other words, dualists believe men and women must life in two distinct though sometimes interacting realms--the

temporal and the eternal, the material and the spiritual, the secular and the sacred. Though they affirm the doctrine of God's universal sovereignty, they do not emphasize equal sovereignty over all aspects of life, assuming that God is more concerned with matters in the spiritual realm of man's existence than in the physical realm. As a result, fundamentalistic Christians who are dualists tend to emphasize a private, personal religion, that, whenever it is expressed publicly, is manifested in an evangelistic visit or "soul-winning." Their energies are directed toward spiritual revival, seeing it as the only legitimate method for solving the world's social problems. Faith to them is expressed best in a personal piety of prayer, Bible study, witnessing and worship. This approach is related to the pietistic elements of the Great Awakenings, and it has traditionally been the approach of most Baptists and Lutherans.

Conversion

"Conversionist" is another term that Niebuhr used to describe a typical approach to culture. This term should not be confused with the evangelical emphasis on being "born again." In this paper, conversionist will refer to those who view Christ as the transformer of culture. Unlike the radicals, they believe that culture is not so evil as to be incapable of transformation by the collective effort of the church. Unlike the dualists, they emphasize and strive to act on God's equal sovereignty over all aspects of life. This is often called the doctrine of universalism. It means that no part of the Christian's life is secular; it is entirely sacred. Niebuhr wrote, "There is no phase of human culture over which Christ does not rule, and no human work which is not subject to his transforming power over self-will--as there is none, however holy, which is not

subject to deformation."[2] Therefore, politics, economics, literature, philosophy, the arts and sciences are all upright and moral when Christians engage in them for the glory of God. This "transformationalist" approach finds its clearest Protestant expression in the Calvinistic sects, particularly in American Puritanism.

Preservation of the American Civil Religion

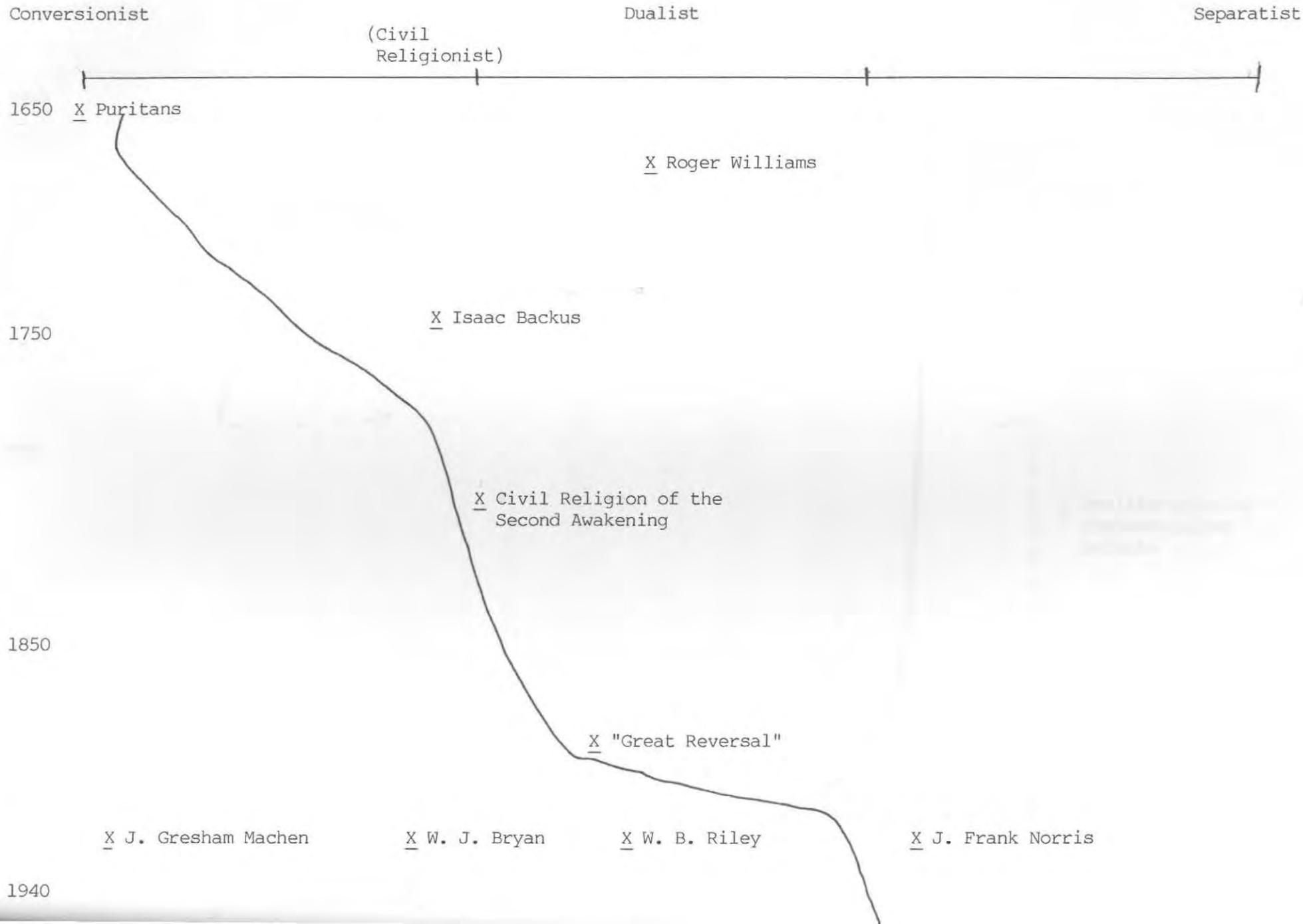
The last approach to culture of interest to this study is what Marsden called "Preservation of Christian Culture."[3] In some ways it is similar to Niebuhr's culturalist approach to culture, though no fundamentalistic Christian would see himself as a culturalist. According to this particular interpretation of culture, America was built on Christian foundations, and Christian efforts in culture should be to preserve those foundations. Thus true religion is somehow identified with the culture of the past--usually the nineteenth century--when evangelicals dominated American life. This approach tends to acquire the terminology of a civil religion or religious patriotism.

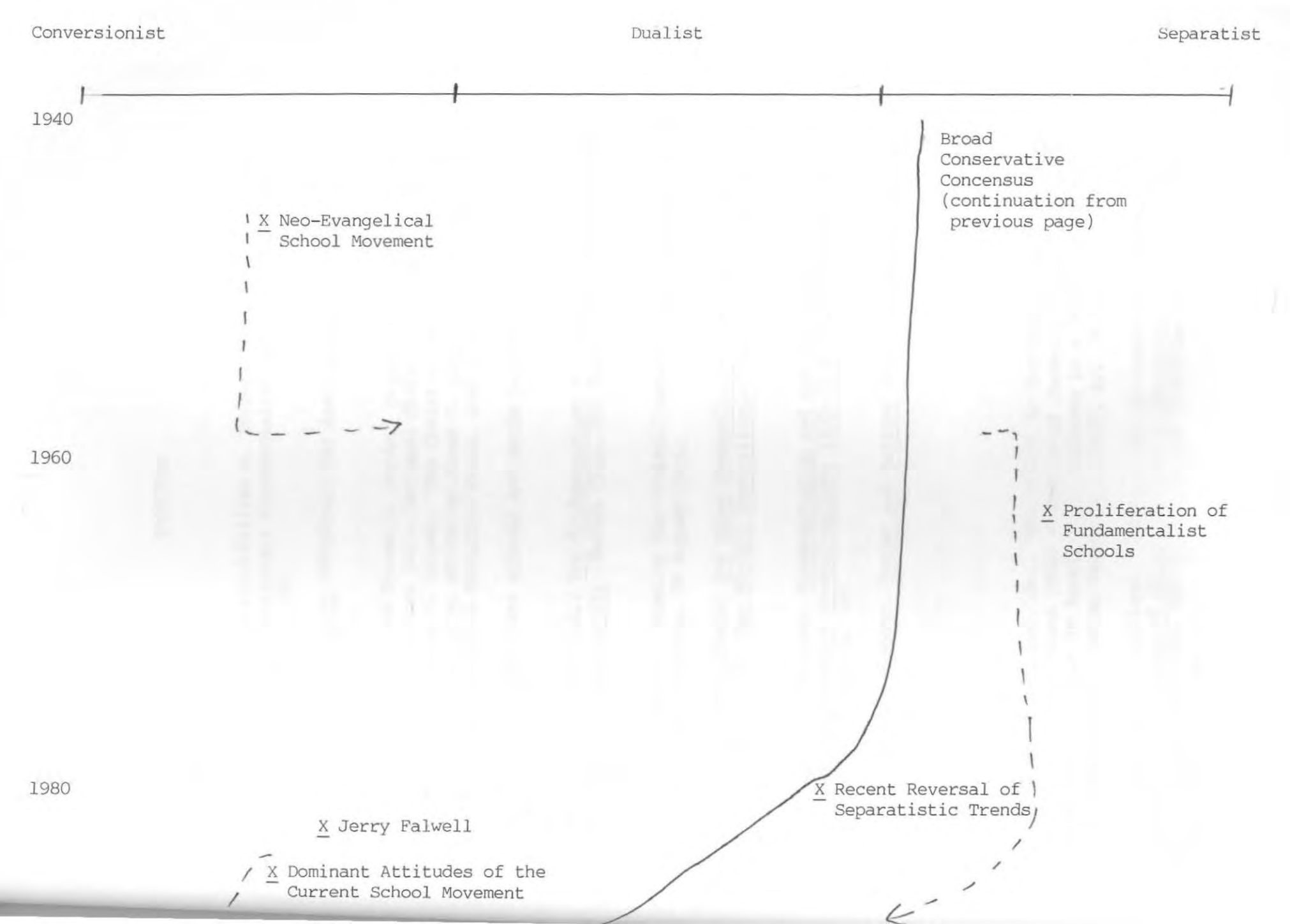
This paper treats culturalism/civil religion as a variant of Calvin's conversionist approach to culture, because many civil religionists defend their views by emphasizing God's sovereignty over America's political institutions. If civil religion is defined as the sanctification of society and culture and the identification of the American cause with the cause of God,[4] then one can see how this last approach is similar to the conversionist. The conversionists reject the sacred/secular dualism while working to transform government institutions. Without an ever-present concern for transformation, the culturalists sacralize the existing political institutions and identify their cause with God. So they argue with

the Calvinists that certain elements of religious orientation have a public dimension in American institutions, but they often fall into a moderate dualism by stressing the private, personal relevance of most religious convictions.[5]

As was said earlier in the paper, these various approaches to culture can be represented on a continuum that roughly corresponds to the degree of a person or group's engagement in culture. The conversionists would tend to be most involved in societal life whereas the separatists would be relatively disengaged from culture. In between these two poles, the culturalists/civil religionists would be more culturally engaged than the dualists.

A word of caution is in order here. In this study of church groups and their approach to culture, one may find elements of all four attitudes toward culture in each of their writings, for few groups have formed their own consistent theory regarding culture's relationship to their faith. In different contexts, church groups approach culture differently. When the foundation of a culture appears Christian (i.e., the United States), they are culturalists. When religious expression seems natural at church but awkward in politics and at work, they are dualists. When society seems hopelessly unredeemed, they are separatists. And when society is sinful but capable of reform, they are conversionists. The very best one can do in one's analysis is to identify the major themes of each group and describe them accordingly.


Conversionist
(Civil Religionist)
Dualist
Separatist
1650
X Puritans
X Roger Williams
X Isaac Backus
1750
X Civil Religion of the Second Awakening
1850
X "Great Reversal"
X J. Gresham Machen
X W. J. Bryan
X W. B. Riley
X J. Frank Norris
1940


Conversionist
Dualist
Separatist
1940
1960
1980
Broad Conservative Concensus (continuation from previous page)
X Neo-Evangelical School Movement
X Proliferation of Fundamentalist Schools
X Recent Reversal of Separatistic Trends
X Jerry Falwell
X Dominant Attitudes of the Current School Movement

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[3]Marsden, pp. 132-135.

[4]Will Herberg, Protestant-Catholic-Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology, 2nd ed. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1960), pp. 263-264.

[5]Quinney, p. 74.

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